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JOHN WORDSWORTH

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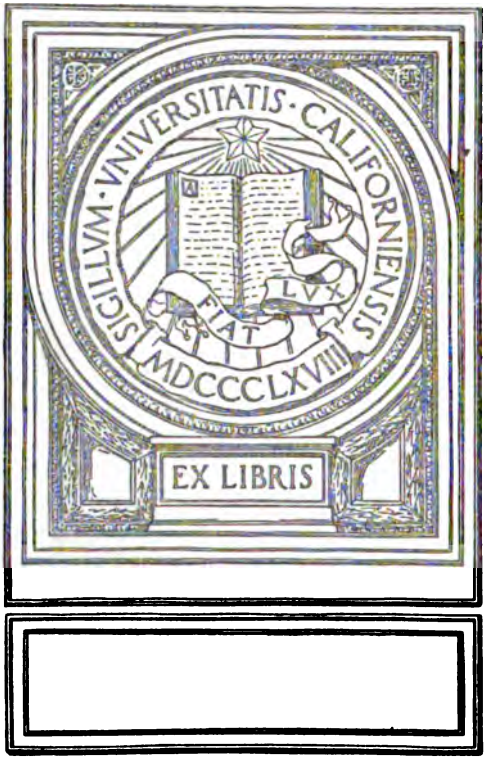
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(1905).

LIFE OF BISHOP JOHN WORDSWORTH

BY

E. W. WATSON, D.D.

CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH, REGIUS PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

WITH PORTRAITS AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
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PREFACE

THIS book could not have been written without the unstinted help and generous confidence of Bishop Wordsworth's family, among whom I must especially name Mrs. Wordsworth and Subdean Wordsworth. Those who have supplied material are so numerous, and their assistance has been so valuable, that it would be cumbrous to specify all and invidious to name some. They are duly named at the points where their contributions find place, and gratefully recorded in the index.

Bishop John Wordsworth was so copious in authorship that the bibliography appended to the volume, though I hope that it contains all his writings that are landmarks in his life, that deal with topics on which he spoke with special knowledge, or that are of permanent importance, is but a small selection from the mass. A full catalogue would have filled a volume in itself. There has been no thought of criticism; certainly no serious student will dispense himself from the task of seeking in the Salisbury *Diocesan Gazette* for a full and wise comment upon events and thoughts in the English Church during Bishop Wordsworth's Episcopate. But it would be an unprofitable task to make a calendar of his contributions to that *Gazette;* and his sermons, dozens of which he printed separately in small numbers and with no view to their general circulation, are quite inaccessible and therefore, with many pamphlets of temporary interest, have been omitted. The task of selection, if necessary, has been ungrateful.

M181504

Though I have been entrusted with the duty of writing a life, yet as it is that of a man who had a share in important events, I have tried to make it contribute in some measure to the history both of the University of Oxford and of the Church of England; and if there are pages with which dwellers in this country might dispense, I may plead that I have been counselled to write also for English-speaking readers beyond the seas.

It must be recorded here that Bishop Wordsworth's papers on some important subjects, such as his notes during the Bishop of Lincoln's trial and his collections for the history of the Swedish Church, have been placed at Mrs. Wordsworth's desire in the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth. For obvious reasons they are on the reserved list, and will not be accessible in this generation to the public.

This book was finished before the outbreak of war, by which its publication has been delayed. Certain sentiments and some modes of expression which it contains have been antiquated by the course of events, though they represent the mind of thoughtful men at a very recent date. Assuredly no one would have been more outspoken on behalf of patriotism and public righteousness, had he been living to-day, than Bishop John Wordsworth.

E. W. W.

October, 1915.

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CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE

BISHOP JOHN WORDSWORTH was born at Harrow-on-the-Hill on St. Matthew's Day, 21st September, 1843, his father being then head master of Harrow School. He was the third child in the family of seven of Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, and the elder of his two sons. The history and characteristics of the Wordsworth family have been studied in every aspect,[1] and it must suffice to say that the youngest brother of William Wordsworth, the poet, was Christopher Wordsworth (1774–1846), who was successively Dean of Bocking, Rector of Lambeth, and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, an office which he resigned in 1841. He married in 1804 Priscilla, daughter of Charles Lloyd, banker, of Birmingham, and sister of Charles Lloyd, the poet and friend of Charles Lamb. The lady had been bred a Quakeress, and was baptised just before her wedding. To his Lloyd ancestry John Wordsworth attached considerable importance. In some notes of his early life, written for his children, he says :—

"The Lloyds were a sensitive, eager, and affectionate family, with a good deal of business shrewdness and capacity,

[1] *E.g.* in Christopher Wordsworth's *Life* of William Wordsworth, his uncle (1851), and Professor Knight's *Life* of the same (1889). Sir Leslie Stephen appends a good bibliography to his article upon the poet in the Dictionary of National Biography. Bishop Charles Wordsworth wrote two volumes of *Annals* of his life (1891 and 1893), and his *Episcopate* was narrated by his nephew, Bishop John Wordsworth. Miss Elizabeth Wordsworth (his daughter) and Canon Overton have written the life of Bishop Christopher Wordsworth. *Glimpses of the Past*, by Miss E. Wordsworth, 1912, should be read.

tempered by a taste for poetry and a strong sense of religion. . . . I suspect that what facility for verse-writing your aunt,[1] and (in a far less degree) I, have comes far more from the Lloyds than the Wordsworths; and I might add that my father probably owed to his mother a good part of the power of hymn-writing which he showed in his *Holy Year*. There is a certain amount of metrical prose in that book, but there are also hymns which are likely to last as long as hymns are sung in the Church of England, and touches of poetry even in the less poetical ones which ought to keep the book alive as a book."

The gift for verse, of which he speaks so modestly, was employed throughout John Wordsworth's life, though naturally its chief exercise was in his earlier days. Well-wrought sonnets, thoughtful and devout musings in the manner of Cowper, dashing descriptions of scenery and travel in the metre of the *Lady of the Lake*, poems evidently inspired by A. H. Clough, might be printed without inflicting, to say the least, discredit upon their author; but since he chose that they should remain unpublished, it is best that they should only be used incidentally in these pages, less for their own sake than as illustrations of the life.

The three sons of the Master of Trinity and Priscilla Lloyd were all scholars of distinction. John, the eldest, (1805–1839), was a Fellow of Trinity, and devoted himself, like so many Cambridge students of his day, to the Greek dramatists. He would undoubtedly have ranked high among English scholars had not weak health and an early death disappointed expectation. He died unmarried, and his papers passed to his nephew and namesake, Bishop John Wordsworth, who always cherished a pride in this uncle, and had certainly been stirred to emulation by his example. The second son was Charles (1806–1892),

[1] Miss Elizabeth Wordsworth.

brilliant in cricket and all athletic accomplishments and equally brilliant in classics, whose elegiac epitaph on his first wife in Winchester Cathedral is perhaps the most admirable of its kind in modern times. He was a Student of Christ Church, and as second master of Winchester had begun what might have been a great career in England, when Tractarian enthusiasm, and the influence of Mr. Gladstone, his personal friend, carried him off to Scotland, to be the first Warden of Glenalmond. There, and afterwards as Bishop of St. Andrews, he lived a long life marked by many trials and disappointments. Distance kept him and his nephew, the Bishop of Salisbury, apart till in the later years of the uncle they came together through that interest in ecclesiastical reunion which was the absorbing interest of the elder man's life and was also a passion with the younger. In what has been the least read of the nephew's larger books the *Episcopate of Charles Wordsworth* is narrated.

The youngest son of the Master of Trinity was Christopher (1807–1885), whose career at Winchester and at Trinity was extraordinary in its scholarly and athletic successes. With him scholarship was more than the traditional accomplishment of English schools and colleges. He had insight into the spirit of Greek poetry. Many of his emendations of Theocritus and other writers are universally accepted.[1] But his chief contribution to classical knowledge was in the field of inscriptions and of exploration. As a young Fellow of Trinity in 1832–33 he visited Southern Italy, where he was the first to note and to decipher the *graffiti* of Pompeii. In later years Mommsen, who gave him full credit for the achievement,

[1] One of the most astonishingly ingenious of emendations was made by him in the *Martyrium Polycarpi*, § 16. It has been admitted into the text by such editors as Zahn and Funk, but is rejected by the cold common-sense of Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*, III., p. 393). Whether it be right or wrong, it is memorable.

requested as editor of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* the use of his notes of travel. He passed on to Greece, just liberated, where he had his adventure with brigands, and ascertained the site of Dodona. His Greek journeys are described in two books, which themselves have become classics, his *Athens and Attica* and *Greece, Pictorial and Descriptive.* But, like his father and his brother Charles, he soon turned away from pure scholarship. At twenty-nine, without previous experience, he accepted the Mastership of Harrow, where he spent eight years. Though he left his mark upon the system and the buildings of the school, and earned the lasting gratitude of many pupils, some of whom became distinguished men, he had reason to be thankful when he was promoted to a canonry at Westminster by Sir Robert Peel. While at Harrow he had married Susanna Hatley, daughter of George Frere, of Lincoln's Inn and Twyford House, Herts, head of an eminent firm of solicitors, and his three eldest children were born at Harrow. The youngest of these was the future Bishop of Salisbury.

The Freres were a numerous and versatile family, on his connection with whom John Wordsworth would dwell with pride. John Hookham Frere, the diplomatist and friend of Canning and the translator of Aristophanes, was his mother's uncle; Sir Bartle Frere, the Indian and colonial statesman, her first cousin. Seven of the family, all of whom passed some part of their life in the nineteenth century, are commemorated in the Dictionary of National Biography, and one or two more might justly have been included.[1] Those nearest to the Bishop of Salisbury hold that many of his own characteristics

[1] Among living cousins, the Rev. Walter Howard Frere, historian of the Prayer-book and Superior of the Community of the Resurrection, must be mentioned. He gave valuable assistance to Bishop John Wordsworth in the researches of his later life.

were those of a Frere rather than of a Wordsworth, and that the peculiarly close sympathy and mutual understanding between his mother and himself was an influence of decisive importance on his life.[1] His interest in scholarship must have been strengthened by the circumstance that her sister, and his godmother, was the wife of Charles Merivale, the Dean of Ely and historian of the Roman Empire.[2]

Into such a family John Wordsworth was born on the 21st September, 1843, a precocious child who could observe and judge before he gained the use of his tongue. To the end of his days he remembered how he formed the resolution, "So soon as I have learned to speak I will tell what that naughty nursemaid was doing with the jam in the cupboard." It is just to say that this was not a temper that followed him through life. The removal to the Little Cloister at Westminster took place in his infancy, and his home for the next seven years was under the shadow of the Abbey. Unlike the other canons, Dr. Wordsworth held no further preferment, and it was an innovation that he occupied his official residence, instead of letting it and making some temporary arrangement for his two months of necessary attendance at the Abbey. His son grew up as an active and fairly healthy child, till he suffered like many others from the "drain fever" as it was then called, due to the reckless amateur sanitation of Dean Buckland in opening the immemorial cesspools of the Abbey precincts.[3] This was in 1848.

[1] Mrs. Wordsworth has been delineated by her daughter in the *Life of Bishop Christopher Wordsworth*, Ch. III.

[2] His other sponsors were his uncle John Frere, who died as Rector of Cottenham, Cambs., in 1851, and Francis Martin, Senior Fellow and Vice-Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, of whom Mr. A. C. Benson has drawn a quaint and attractive portrait in the life of his father, the Archbishop.

[3] For this calamity, which caused the temporary ruin of Westminster School, see Thompson's *Memoir of Dean Liddell*, p. 117.

In 1850 followed the death of William Wordsworth, and the Canon of Westminster, his nephew, undertook the task of writing his memoir. For this purpose he moved with his whole family to Rydal, where many months were spent. John Wordsworth records that it was his "first conscious and full enjoyment of natural beauty."

A permanent home more suited for a large family of young children was gained by Dr. Wordsworth's acceptance, on the presentation of the Chapter of Westminster, of the vicarage of Stanford in the Vale with Goosey. It was a parish large in acreage and with a scattered population, lying not very picturesquely as to its immediate surroundings among the meadows of the Vale of White Horse, with Faringdon as its nearest town. The value was not great, and as the Vicar had always the assistance of one curate, and usually of two, the incumbency did not increase his income. The family moved there early in 1851. From this time the father made it his custom to live at Westminster four months in the year, and thus, though the annual visit to London and the opportunities of meeting distinguished men were landmarks in the children's life, their true home and their chief interests were at Stanford, where they remained till Dr. Wordsworth became, eighteen years later, the Bishop of Lincoln. The place was—

> "exceptionally well provided with field-walks, over stiles which were rather trying to our governesses and to us children; and we had early to learn not to be afraid of horned cattle, to know something of field flowers, and to acquire a taste for jumping brooks and a modest kind of fishing."

If the interest in fishing disappeared, that in nature grew stronger and more informed throughout Wordsworth's life. The study of plants was encouraged at Winchester by Moberly, and, as a Bishop, John Wordsworth promoted the formation of wild-flower classes in the schools of

his diocese, which disclosed new habitats for many rarities and brought to light many local names. The columns of the Salisbury *Diocesan Gazette* will furnish material when a more perfect dialect dictionary than has yet appeared is undertaken. He also had a working knowledge of geology, could talk of soils and of the surface of the land, and would discourse learnedly of the product of the quarries in his diocese, Box and Chilmark, Portland and Purbeck. If in passing a house he caught sight of an unusual stone, he would return and ring the bell, to inquire of the astonished maid whence her master had procured his door-step, and he has been seen climbing wistfully over a railway-truck of sarsen kerb-stones in the hope of finding one small enough to be conveyed home in his motor. He formed, indeed, a very complete cabinet of specimens of such local materials. It is true that his eye for country may have been trained by his experience as a young man in the hunting-field, and his knowledge of stones by his zeal as a builder in later life, but his love of observation and power of acquiring and retaining facts concerning all visible and tangible things were developed from this early training. They had their fullest scope in his travels through Australia and New Zealand, when his notes were full of the strange flowers and stones he was seeing for the first time.

As was to be expected in such a home, the children received a careful religious training. The father's most successful work, as regards influence and world-wide circulation, was his *Theophilus Anglicanus*, composed at Harrow and published in 1843, the year of John's birth. But the parents refrained from stimulating the feelings of their children. One of the daughters, Mrs. Steedman, writes :—

"They were alike in being very reserved and unemotional. They had a great dread of making us morbid and

introspective. They never worked on our feelings or preached at us, and they never reproached us with want of affection and never uttered a word of self-pity when we were naughty. We were early taught reverence and respect for authority in Church and State and home, and implicit and instant obedience. It was not so much what they said to us as what their example taught us. They were always loving and courteous to each other, and we learned from our earliest years never to interrupt or to speak when our elders were busy. I never heard them say an unkind word, and they always imputed the best motives and were ready to make excuses for every one. They were both full of courage, and if they believed a thing to be right they did it, however painful it might be. . . . I think on looking back that what impressed us most was (1) their sense of duty. We felt without their saying it that they were always sensible of God's Presence. (2) Their absolute sincerity; they lived their religion. (3) Their tenderness and ready sympathy, which was not shown by endearing words or much praise. I think they were afraid of petting and spoiling, and they never repeated our childish sayings or talked of us to others before us. Still we *felt* their love, and were never afraid to tell them anything."

John Wordsworth's first lessons were naturally at his mother's knee, and when, at ten years, the future Bishop was sent to his first school, it was they that were found to have had the most effect. Mrs. Wallace, of Brighton, the mistress, "was much pleased because I knew the connection between the rebellion of Korah and the chapter which follows about Aaron's rod that budded." The young divine had clearly profited by his mother's practice of reading the lessons verse by verse with her children after breakfast. At Brighton he began both Latin and Greek, and the triumph of construing his first sentence in the latter language was a landmark in his life. But his chief cause of gratitude to Mrs. Wallace, whom, with some of her assistants, he bore in his memory through life, was that she implanted in him

a sound knowledge of the Bible and of Church principles. Her text-book was Bishop Gastrell's [1] *Faith and Duty of a Christian*, "which I have often recommended as a type of what we want our children to know."

In spite of the lady's corporal severity, of which he has left a vivid description, Wordsworth's residence at Brighton was happy as well as profitable. So much cannot be said of his second school. In 1854 he was sent to the Ipswich Grammar School, to be under the Rev. S. J. Rigaud, afterwards Bishop of Antigua, whom his father had known as second master of Westminster. There was a feud between the boarders and the day-boys, some of whom were of a rough class; but since Wordsworth, like Tom Brown, was roasted before a fire, the amenities of the inner life cannot have been great.

"The morals of the school, both inside and out, were—when I now think over them—unwholesome. I did not get as much harm from them as I might have done, but I got a good deal. I was greatly protected by one or two good friends."

But, as he acknowledges, the teaching was thorough, and he was grateful for the *Propria quae maribus* and *As in praesenti*. "I am convinced," he wrote in 1907, "that both are most useful as helps to accuracy in Latin writing, both prose and verse." [2] In the latter accomplishment he had attained some proficiency, for he attributes his success in entering Winchester to some "rather decent Alcaics" that he wrote in competition for the exhibitions.

It was not intended that he should stay long at Ipswich, though the boy was too loyal to tell his parents

[1] Francis Gastrell, Bishop of Chester and *in commendam* Canon of Christ Church, where he was buried in 1725.

[2] But he may have learned these verses at home. They are to be found in his father's *Latin Grammar*, the profits of which paid for his children's education.

the full facts of his situation. Dr. Wordsworth at first thought of the foundation at Eton, but soon turned to Winchester. He would not have his sons scholars on Wykeham's foundation, for he did not regard the children of a canon of Westminster as falling within the class of *pauperes indigentes;* but just at the right time, in 1857, exhibitions were instituted for which the only condition was intellectual ability. To one of these John Wordsworth was elected, and so entered Winchester as one of the first exhibitioners in Commoners. "I shall regret to lose a pupil who, by God's blessing, would do us much credit. I shall also be sorry not to have *your* son under me," wrote Rigaud.

For John Wordsworth's career at Winchester we can quote a sketch by Mr. A. O. Prickard, his contemporary there and at New College and his lifelong friend,[1] which shall be supplemented from notes by the Bishop himself and by others:—

"John Wordsworth came to Winchester in September, 1857, as a Commoner, *i.e.* an inmate of 'New Commoners,' built by Dr. George Moberly in 1843, and, in theory, part of his house, though structurally separate; just as his uncle and father, John and Christopher Wordsworth, had been inmates of 'Old Commoners' under Dr. Gabell and Dr. Williams. He was placed at once in 'Senior Part of Fifth Book,' the lower of the two divisions (60 or 70 boys in all), which were the head master's personal charge. This was an unusual place for a new-comer; it carried immunity from general fagging, and rather later on questions rose upon this point, which somewhat sharply divided our small society. No such question was raised against John Wordsworth. He was an exceptional person, if only because of the wonderful learning which he brought with him, coming to him partly by inheritance and from home atmosphere, partly through

[1] Contributed, with others of which we shall make use, to the Salisbury *Diocesan Gazette*, 1911, p. 186.

school training at Ipswich under Dr. Rigaud. Besides this, there was so much nature, and good nature, in him, loyalty to his fellows and absence of any sort of pretence, that he was at once accepted, and, as he became better known, beloved all round. He was tall for fourteen, large boned, and loose of limb, very light in hair and complexion, with the strongly-marked face-features of his race, more rugged and apparent then than they were in middle and later life. As I look back on what he was, intellectually, then and afterwards, it seems as if there were all the while two natures, or two horses of the soul bearing the one nature forward with unequal pace. There was the neat, precise scholarship, corresponding to the beautiful handwriting which never much varied at any part of his life. Thus he came to school with a knowledge of the finer points of the Greek Iambic Metre, which amazed us, and was a delight to Dr. Moberly. Again, he had (like his uncle Charles) a charming hand in Latin Elegiacs, an accomplishment which, perhaps, had not very free scope in the Winchester course. This side of him admitted of steady accumulation of knowledge and orderly advance, and he became a 'good scholar,' such as Conington would welcome, and indeed did welcome and value later on. On the other side, there was the strong, wayward brain, always amassing strange discoveries from likely and unlikely sources, brooding over and correlating them, but also freely pouring out to hearers, who never thought of pedantry because it was all so natural. I dwell on this double development, because it was, I think, the cause of comparative want of success in examinations—comparative, I mean, in view of his acknowledged powers. He carried off many prizes, and was elected to a scholarship at New College a year before he was ready to accept one; but it was not till 1867, when he gained a Craven Scholarship, that his friends felt that his gifts had met with an adequate reward. Nor did he at once find an Oxford Fellowship open to him, until a happy train of circumstances brought him to Brasenose in 1867. But, above and beyond any temporary retardation of a career, it would, perhaps, not be untrue to say that he was all his life criticising and harmonising his vast stores of material, working out their true bearings on the world of Nature or of men. Things were

to him what they were, not what people might think them to be. Thus he would at times seem not to heed the limitations of his hearers—they ought to be interested; they will be interested some day; the links of thought will become clear, at least to some of them. Only, perhaps, when he was deeply moved, as he readily was, by moral, or patriotic, or civic enthusiasm, were the mists wholly rolled away, and he spoke, heart to heart, with fervid simplicity. However this may be, the effect upon schoolboys of so much learning and such strange inconsequence was the natural one:—

> 'Some called it madness—so indeed it was,
> If prophecy be madness.' [1]

When he gave out, in all good faith, that his soul could and did travel abroad, leaving his body at home (like Horace's Democritus, but I think the source of the legend was really a less familiar one), he easily earned the title of 'mad,' always one of honour and affection among boys. In his early time his study, one of some twenty cells, seven feet or so by five, opening directly upon the Court, was exposed to frequent sieges by curious juniors. I do not think that any harm to property or temper was done; such fun as there was lay in the spirited defence of his hearth by the owner. Of course, such inroads ceased when he became a præfect; he held this office for three years, during the last months of which he was 'Senior Commoner Præfect,' a responsible post in a somewhat turbulent commonwealth. Nothing sensational marked the period, and his rule was firm and sensible. He never seemed to be attracted to cricket, in which his father and uncle (Charles) had great reputations. He was short-sighted, and opportunities, for others than those in or near 'Lords' or the Commoners' Eleven, were not what they are in modern times. He was a strong and useful football player. I do not remember exactly what position he reached; but in Oxford, where Winchester football had a vigorous but intermittent and rather cloistered existence, presided over by two 'Deans' elected in New College, he filled one of these offices with great efficiency."

[1] Wordsworth's *Preiude*, Book III.

Wordsworth entered Winchester as a strongly-built boy, healthy save for a slight rheumatism which hung about him for life, after an attack of rheumatic fever at Ipswich.

"I was never a great athlete at Winchester, as my father, to some extent at least, had been.[1] I was unhandy at cricket, partly from shyness, partly from short sight. But I played better at football and got into Twenty-two in Commoners, and either into 'Second Six and Six' or into 'Dress' for it. In our days Commoners was still rather rough. For parts of two winters our studies were without hot-water pipes, owing to some failure of the apparatus. Our seats in Cathedral were without backs, and we turned our backs to listen, as much as was natural to boys to do, to the sermons. I do not remember with any distinctness or pleasure any one sermon in the Cathedral. But we enjoyed Dr. Moberly's in the chapel, and we loved the simplicity of Warden Barter, himself a sort of grown-up boy. He was always most kind to me, and I was generally at his house when not elsewhere on leave out days."

Of the education he reports that—

"Moberly's preparation for Confirmation was very good, and he made the Prayer-book interesting.[2] I was confirmed by Bishop Sumner, of Winchester, but do not recollect the occasion as particularly impressive. The teacher we boys generally loved most was John Desborough Walford, the sole mathematical master (at first) unless 'Peter the Whaler,' as we called him (his name was Whale) could be so called. J. D. W. was a master, I think, for about forty years and latterly was Bursar. He knew exactly how to treat boys and to get something out of even idle ones. I never could really keep trigonometry in my head, though I ploughed through a good part of it somehow."[3]

[1] This is an understatement. See Sir J. E. Eardley Wilmot in the *Memoir of Christopher Wordsworth*, Ch. I.

[2] For an account of his method see Miss Moberly's *Life* of her father, *Dulce domum*, p. 124.

[3] Yet Miss E. Wordsworth (Salisbury *Diocesan Gazette*, 1911,

Among his contemporaries he names especially Herbert Stewart, afterwards the general mortally wounded at Abu Klea in 1885—

" a good cricketer and a popular boy, of bright, frank, manly character, but very idle. I remember Moberly saying to him when we were up to books, ' You gentlemen in the Eleven think yourselves great men,' when I suppose he made some blunder in construing or failed to answer some easy question."

Friends outside the school were Mrs. Lyall, widow of the Dean of Canterbury, and the Heathcotes of Hursley, from whose house—

" once or twice we were allowed to go and see Mr. Keble, and to have some kind of meal at his house. I carried away an impression of him, though I could not put it into words."

Dr. Moberly himself was the dominant force at Winchester. He knew how to apply every stimulus to his more promising pupils, and not least that of sarcasm—" the terrors of his quick and unexpected wit," as Dean Church called it—which he employed to a degree that modern teachers might not approve. Wordsworth remembered the special enjoyment with which he taught Theocritus and Pindar, an enjoyment which he succeeded in imparting to his class, though Wordsworth, who recognised the charm of the lesser poet, was refractory in the case of Pindar. " I never got over the sense of strain and farfetchedness," he says. But one of Moberly's chief merits was that he encouraged his boys to read for themselves. Their interests expanded beyond the

p. 124) tells us: " He had quite a fair amount of mathematical ability and an excellent head for figures. Almost the last time I ever saw him, only a few months before his death, he was trying to explain to us some ingenious experiments in the powers of numbers with which he had amused himself during his long motor drives." His interest in the art of building is also proof of a mathematical bent; and at Winchester he actually won the Duncan prize for mathematics.

traditional studies; we hear of an ambitious boy aware of the new realm of philology, and reading Donaldson's *New Cratylus* at his meals. At Oxford Wordsworth threw himself into the same pursuit in a more scientific way. At Winchester his curiosity was to cost him the chief prize of the school, the Goddard Scholarship, which he lost, it is believed, because he was tempted to read the *Trachiniae* when he should have devoted himself to books more fruitful in marks. But he says that the lessons which made most impression upon him and his contemporaries were those on Scripture. Coming from such a home, he had a predisposition for divinity; on the 27th November, 1858, writing to announce that he is just confirmed, and is to receive the Holy Communion on the approaching Advent Sunday, he tells his father—

"I have lately got a Septuagint. It is printed at Cambridge by Field, 1665, and I believe it is a good edition. There are a good many rather curious abbreviations in it, so I cannot read it very well."

The bibliographical touch is thoroughly characteristic of the future scholar. But Moberly's success in awakening this interest was not confined to one member of his class. When Wordsworth and his companions were gone to the University, he would recall "my theologians," in a reproachful comparison between them and their less appreciative successors.

So Wordsworth grew in knowledge, and also in character. He became Head Præfect of Commoners, and made vigorous use of his prerogative of "tunding" for the suppression of such mischief as had repelled him at Ipswich. Poring over his books with his single eyeglass, he rose in the school so rapidly that in 1860, in his seventeenth year, he was elected to New College. His father declined the election for him on the double ground of

youth, to which Moberly assented, and of a preference for Cambridge, shared by father and son, with which Moberly had no sympathy. Next year he was again elected, and this time, in spite of John Wordsworth's renewed petition for Cambridge, his father decided that he should go to Oxford. The older man was in the habit of seeking guidance from the course of events, and it seemed, his daughter says, a sort of flying in the face of Providence to refuse so good a prospect a second time. The son left Winchester in the summer of 1861, and matriculated from New College in the October. He was always a grateful son of his ancient school, and was doubtless thankful that he had no small share in the remarkable succession of academical triumphs which illustrated 1866 and 1867, the last years of Dr. Moberly's mastership.

This chapter must close with some words as to the home influences to which the boy was subjected as his talents and character developed. Undoubtedly Dr. Wordsworth's children grew up under a strenuous rule. He did not spare himself or his family. They learned industry and simplicity of life; nothing, to the end of his days, was more repugnant to Bishop John Wordsworth than either indolence or luxury. But they were rewarded by being taken into their father's confidence. If he expected an answer when he inquired into their work, he discussed with them his own, and it is remembered as a proud, though sometimes terrifying, experience that he would ask them, when he was at work upon his Commentaries, how they would interpret some knotty passage of Scripture. He would reward their answer, such as it might be, by pouring out his own information and thoughts upon the topic. This he called making them his anvils; and in later life the son has been known, with a change of metaphor, to advise the clergy of his diocese to employ

their wives and children as whetstones. There must have been a powerful stimulus in this interchange of thoughts, and in the granting of a share, however modest, in a real work. For the boys were set definite scholarly tasks in their holidays, in aid of their father, and the sense that this was work done for a definite purpose, and not a mere exercise, must have heightened its interest and awakened an honourable ambition. Nearly at the end of his life, in his Easter sermon in Salisbury Cathedral in 1910, Bishop Wordsworth describes the literary side of his early home.[1]

"There rises before me the vision of a small room in a country vicarage—a room of rather irregular shape, with a large bay window on its southern side. Its walls are covered by books and bookshelves, and in the centre is a table loaded with open books, while books in all positions cover the floor and furniture. At the table is a black-haired, spare-framed, bending figure, writing rapidly, with eager quick-moving eyes, sometimes raised to look at the text which is inscribed in large letters all around above the bookcases. The words are the Greek original of this verse of St. Paul's;[2] the writer is engaged upon a Bible Commentary, which is filled from end to end with the thought that the Old Testament is transformed and transfigured in the New. He sees all things in Christ. This verse is the motto of his Commentary, and he, in his own person and character, is a living example of the penetrative power of the life of his Saviour—a life which has so caught hold of him that he lives in the world as not of the world."

The books, which doubtless overflowed into every room of Stanford Vicarage as they afterwards did into the corridors of the Salisbury Palace, played no small part in the education of John Wordsworth. Access to what was already one of the noblest of working libraries of

[1] *Diocesan Gazette*, 1910, p. 135.
[2] 2 Cor. v. 17, the text of the sermon.

classics, history, and theology was an inestimate privilege. Originally formed by the Master of Trinity and augmented by the elder John Wordsworth, in the hands of the Bishop of Lincoln, it must have contained some 15,000 volumes; and though it was diminished by sale and division at his death to the extent of at least 5000, it had exceeded its former dimensions when the Bishop of Salisbury died. All that was essential has been retained for the service of a fourth generation of Wordsworths.[1]

But the life at Stanford was not that of a family of book-worms. There were the inevitable experiments that schoolboys will practise in the stable with chemicals and test-tubes. The sons were allowed to entertain the parish with home-made squibs and crackers and Roman candles, and the times were so primitive that when they played football with the village boys it was with a bladder procured from the local butcher and covered by the cobbler. There was also a training, which left permanent marks, at forge and lathe. Of the carpenter's art, especially, John Wordsworth had considerable knowledge. When, in 1898, he paid a flying visit of two days to Cairo on his way to Palestine, the carpentry of ancient Egypt was the one subject to which he paid a detailed attention. In his diary he described, with working drawings and in technical terms, the joints employed in making the mummy-case for a Pharaoh. One further art he learned at Winchester and practised usefully, if roughly, to the end of his days, that of the bookbinder.[2] But the life at Stanford was not lived unduly indoors. There were

[1] Perhaps the proof-sheets of William Wordsworth's *Lyrical Ballads* are the most valuable element.

[2] His sister Mary (Mrs. Trebeck), who was his special ally, enumerates among the objects of his knowledge, "locks, springs, compasses, gardening, the habits of animals, engravings, etchings, genealogies, derivations, even needlework in all its branches." He taught her "the names of ferns and flowers, map-drawing, perspective, and carpentering."

always horses or ponies, and the sons learned to ride and drive; and though the steeds were perhaps as sedate as those of most parsonages—one of them was named Denis after the patron Saint of the parish, because he was as steady as a church—they also came to hunt, a practice continued by John Wordsworth till his ordination. He took his exercise on horseback for some years after his consecration.

One final and powerful influence of the home must be mentioned. The family was united in affection and also in a sense of mutual responsibility, not only for each other's welfare but for the maintenance of an honourable tradition. It is clear that this feeling, never allowed to degenerate into vanity, was a source of strength to the household which cherished it; a household in which the birthdays were never forgotten.

CHAPTER II

NEW COLLEGE, HARROW, AND WELLINGTON

JOHN WORDSWORTH matriculated from New College in October, 1861, being just eighteen years of age. In some notes of his earlier life, written in 1891, he says :—

"New College was, when I first went up, probably the smallest College in the University, having less than thirty undergraduates; just as Commoners at Winchester was at its lowest ebb when I entered, having less than the number of scholars (70). When I left Oxford in 1885 New College had risen to be one of the largest Colleges, and in some points the most respected in Oxford. There was always a certain coldness of tone about the religion of the College, which was a disadvantage to it. Dr. Sewell [1] was not an enthusiast like his brother William, though he possessed qualities which the latter lacked; and I cannot remember any pronounced Churchman of any party ever being on the tutorial staff. In my days this coldness was the more depressing as we were a small body for our buildings, and there were elements of old-fashioned roughness and coarseness both amongst undergraduates and junior Fellows, which made it not altogether a wholesome society. I have always thanked God that my experience at Oxford was not limited to one College, and that rather a peculiar one, in which undergraduate Fellows still existed when I went up, and which had only recently relinquished its right of granting graces for degrees without submitting its students to University examinations. My tutor was Edward Fox.[2] Faber and Austin (afterwards

[1] James E. Sewell, Warden 1860–1903. His brother William was Fellow of Exeter and Founder of Radley Colleges.

[2] Rector of Heyford Warren, Oxon., 1878–1888.

Austin Gourlay) were also tutors. The most active tutor was E. C. Wickham,[1] who was one of the first, I suppose, in Oxford to do a really large amount of private work with undergraduates. Through his advice I, with others, went to Professor Jowett with essays and compositions. His criticism was severe, and I do not think he encouraged us much, perhaps not enough, but no doubt he was familiar with generations of clever undergraduates and with the conceit habitual to the species. He seemed always anxious to poke the fire when you read any particularly interesting or rhetorical passage. Certainly we learnt from him something of the spirit of the old motto, *νᾶφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν*, "Keep your head clear and be sceptical," at any rate as regards rash assumptions and second-hand evidence. I do not remember anything directly tending to religious doubt, though one was naturally conscious of being in the company of one who was then considered an heresiarch, and who certainly seemed to me to have done injury to the faith of many men who had passed under his influence. I am inclined to think that his chief faults were coldness of temperament and a desire to have things his own way. But he certainly set a much needed example of professorial activity and of readiness to help young men. It was not creditable to the other studies, especially Theology, that the two Professors who saw most of younger students were those of Greek (Jowett) and Latin (Conington). All this changed afterwards when Bright, Liddon, King, and, in his own way, Mozley, became Professors. Pusey had always influence as a preacher and as a teacher over the few who really studied with him, of whom I regret to say that I was not one."

John Wordsworth lived a strenuous life at New College, and a full one. He breakfasted before chapel, at which his attendance was regular. As we have seen, he played football, and he served in the University Volunteers.

[1] See his *Memoir*, by Lonsdale Ragg, p. 55, for Wordsworth's estimate of the future Dean of Lincoln. He was "a trifle severe and slow to praise or encourage. I remember with gratitude a neat pencil remark on one of my compositions, '*O si sic omnia.*'"

But above all things he was a student. His lifelong friend, Chancellor Bernard,[1] writes :—

"My first recollection of Bishop Wordsworth is a characteristic one and still a clear picture in my mind. I was in a room in New College; I think it was that of another scholar, Edgar Jacob, now Bishop of St. Albans. Wordsworth came in and without a word or look to the company went straight to the bookshelves and peered into them, taking out first one volume and then another."

Yet he was no recluse. His taste in friends, we are told,[2] though not indiscriminate, was catholic. He belonged to the "Dressing Gown and Slipper Club," which met on Saturday evenings for whist at sixpenny points and had rules composed in the mock medievalism that was then in fashion. He was one of the founders, and since he carried off and retained its minute book, the club seems not to have survived more than one undergraduate generation. His chief friends and rivals from Winchester were J. T. Bramston, W. Moore, and A. O. Prickard.[3]

"In New College," says the last, "there were the present Warden and W. J. Courthope, C.B., author of the *Paradise of Birds* and also of the *History of English Poetry*, the first volume of which bears the Bishop's name in its dedication, and every volume of which in succession was an interest and a pleasure to him. Of outside friends I will only name (by their then familiar names, if I may) E. R. Bernard, Edward Talbot,[4] J. L. Strachan-Davidson, and C. T. D. Acland."

His heartiness was indicated by what a friend called the "bone-cracking grip" of his hand, and he was

[1] E. R. Bernard, of Exeter College, afterwards Fellow of Magdalen, Canon and Chancellor of Sarum.

[2] By Mr. A. O. Prickard, Salisbury *Diocesan Gazette*, 1911, p. 187.

[3] Mr. Bramston is now retired, after many years of mastership at Winchester. Mr. Moore, sometime Fellow of Magdalen, has recently died as Rector of Appleton, Berks. Mr. Prickard, Fellow of New College, has resigned his tutorship in the College.

[4] Bishop of Winchester.

fortunate in the nearness of his home in the Vale of White Horse, at which his Oxford friends were welcome guests. There also he enjoyed an active life. In one Christmas vacation from New College eight dances and several good runs are noted in his diary, and he also practised singing. On one occasion he sang "The people that walked," from the *Messiah*, before an audience of two hundred at a Stanford concert.

"I did not sing it well, but do not despair of improving —of learning music and drawing, German, Hebrew. Perhaps the desire for self-culture is selfish. The answer is of course just, that though God has no need of human knowledge he has no need of human ignorance, and perhaps too the use of the intellectual faculties to their fullest extent, not merely in the daily work of life, may be a duty."

Another of his recreations gives Wordsworth a modest place in the history of lighter verse. Towards the end of his days at New College, but while he was still *in statu pupillari*, he was visited by his brother from Cambridge. They went to play pool at a billiard-room in Holywell, and one of the company, missing a stroke, used an expletive for which John Wordsworth suggested, "What the digamma," as an alternative. The fame of this reproof spread abroad; it had reached Wellington before Wordsworth arrived there, and gave him a reputation for readiness of wit which perhaps was not quite sustained. Mr. J. D. Lester,[1] a Wellington Master with

[1] Joseph Dunn Lester, of Jesus College, Oxford, B.A. 1865, became master at Wellington in 1867, and wrote verses on Herodotus and other classic authors in the same spirit as those on Homer. He died at Wellington in December, 1875. Mr. A. D. Godley handed on the torch from Lester in 1891 (see *More Echoes from the Oxford Magazine*); it is remembered that Mr. C. L. Dodgson was so shocked that he proposed that the Christ Church Common Room should no longer subscribe to the peccant magazine. There are several *variae lectiones*, though none in the sixth line, and the author burdened his poem with two further lines, which do not appear in Mr. Godley's edition, which is used here.

some of Calverley's gifts, borrowed the phrase for one of his *jeux d'esprit* on the classical authors :—

> " Poluphloisboisterous Homer of old
> Threw all his augments into the sea,
> Although he had often been courteously told
> That perfect imperfects begin with an e ;
> But the poet replied with a dignified air
> ' What the Digamma does any one care ? ' "

It is needless to say that Wordsworth was a diligent student, and that he was interested in the classics to be read for Moderations. The minute and accurate scholarship of Wickham, with his interest in grammar and philology, then popular through the writings of Max Müller, had a lasting influence on Wordsworth's mind.[1] He competed without success for the University scholarships in classics, but was placed in the first class in Moderations. By this time he had become one of the " Coningtonians," as he calls them. Professor Conington took pleasure in the friendship of the abler undergraduates, taking them on reading parties and writing them long letters, in which it must be said that he put himself on their level, his topics being their comparative merits in composition and their prospects of success in Hertford or Ireland or Fellowship examinations. Wordsworth joined his reading party at Ilkley in the Long Vacation of 1863. " I think I am learning a good deal from Conington," he writes to a friend. " He works very hard with us and has plenty of information of various kinds, besides

[1] Chancellor Bernard records an unusual attempt at classical proficiency—" A Latin dinner party, at which Latin only was to be spoken, which Wordsworth and I gave in our joint lodgings in New College Lane on 1st December, 1865. The idea, I think, was his, but the invitations, of course in Latin, were from us both. The only survivor of the company is Mr. R. W. Raper, of Trinity. I do not remember the conversation, but I think we got on pretty well, after a first blank and hopeless endeavour to greet one another as the guests arrived."

actual scholarship." They read the *Agamemnon*, which he hopes will be of use for the Ireland scholarship, though he confesses that it will not help him for Literae Humaniores. After the party had broken up, Conington writes (9th September, 1863) :—

"I hope you are in good heart about your work. I shall be surprised if it does not produce something in the way of prizes or scholarships before your Oxford time is over, and I am quite sure that if you eventually fix on scholarship as your *métier*, you may do something really effective."

Of him Bishop Wordsworth wrote in 1891 :—

"At Oxford my kindest friend was John Conington, to whom with his large circle of undergraduate and younger graduate friends I owed a great deal. He was a man of wonderful memory for all sorts of things, something like Albert Watson,[1] but surpassing him in verbal memory. He was perfectly simple and unpretending, religious yet full of common sense and criticism, most stimulating as a talker without being unsettling. Originally, I think, like the rest of his family, he was strongly evangelical, then liberal and somewhat sceptical, then converted again (I believe by fear of death and eternal punishment) and living with a sort of cloud upon him which perhaps was premonitory of his early and somewhat strange and sudden death. He was not exactly a poet. There was something heavy and ungainly about his verses, naturally I mean, that there was about his own person and manner. But he had such a command of language, through his wonderful memory and constant habit of versifying, and put such strength of will into all his work, that he forced all that he did to be good up to a certain point. His translation of Horace shows this power. He was naturally fondest of Greek, especially of Aeschylus, which he ought to have edited rather than Virgil. Friendship with him brought me the friendship of W. J. Courthope, of P. F. Willert, J. L. Strachan-Davidson, of Raper; of Alfred Robinson and T. H.

[1] Fellow of B.N.C. 1852–1886; Principal, 1886–1889. Fellow from 1890 till his death in 1904. Editor of the well-known *Select Letters of Cicero*.

Green among graduates, and of others, including to some extent older men like Goldwin Smith and Henry Smith the mathematician, who was also an excellent scholar. L. G. Mylne (Bishop of Bombay) was also a great friend of his as an undergraduate."

Conington's influence led to an active exercise of classical versification on the part of his young admirers, and Wordsworth has preserved many specimens in many metres. His pen was also busy with English verse during his undergraduate years. An Oxford influence was that of A. H. Clough, to whom some friends saw a resemblance in Wordsworth. Certainly for a time Clough tinged his imagination. More significant for the future was a long poem after the fashion of Cowper on the service for the Visitation of the Sick, composed in 1862. Wordsworth's first appearance in print was poetical. In 1864 the National Society published a little anonymous volume of *Ballads from English History*, with a preface by Dr. Christopher Wordsworth. The Ballads have been communicated to him in manuscript, and he commends them to the public as "presenting to the minds of young persons some interesting events of English history in a manner which appears to be well adapted to promote their growth in sound principles of religion, loyalty, and patriotism, as well as to supply an agreeable exercise to their memory and imagination." The authors were John Wordsworth, his eldest sister, and an aunt, Miss Frere, and it may be said that the order of seniority is also the order of merit. The youngest poet wrote on St. Alban and St. Gregory and the Angles. It may suffice to quote one stanza from the former ballad :—

"Then, like Cornelius, Alban lived
A Roman soldier true;
But heathen still, for nothing he
Of Christian teaching knew,

Till to his door, one night in fear
A Christian priest did come,
And prayed for shelter from his foes,
And for that night a home."

Before and after this time he wrote many better verses than these. But it is strange that there is no evidence that he ever composed a hymn.

Browning was the dominant poetical influence of the day, and the interpretation of poetry as serious a business as the composition. The abler undergraduates gravely analysed such poems as *James Lee's Wife* and others of the *Dramatis Personae*, and interchanged their views by correspondence or at essay clubs. Ruskin also was influential. We find Wordsworth working carefully at an essay for the "Old Mortality" club on the grotesque in art, in which he argued that the highest art must have an element of the grotesque; and he studied architecture and sketched prettily after the custom of the day. But if he followed Browning and Ruskin (though there is no trace of his being drawn towards the social programmes of the latter), he paid no heed whatever to Carlyle, the third oracle of the time. Nor does he avowedly submit to William Wordsworth, or quote his poems, at this stage of his life. Yet there is found a Wordsworthian sympathy with nature, and occasionally an experience that suggests certain passages in the *Prelude*. On the 18th August, 1865, he records that he has slept at an hotel high up on the Wengern Alp.

"It was a beautiful evening, and I enjoyed one of those quarters of an hour which one values for their rarity, such as once I had in Buckland Cover and once riding home from hunting; times when you do not feel so much to belong to yourself as to the things about you."

In regard to this, Professor J. A. Stewart writes:—

"John Wordsworth's experience is, indeed, Wordsworthian. It is an experience which, so far as I can gather,

is more common in youth than later; and youth is the time when a poet must begin his career if he is to begin it at all. I think that J. Wordsworth probably had both the poetic and the prosaic sides of the family inheritance, but, of course, all would depend on the way in which the two sides helped and hindered each other. In his great uncle the prosaic side actually helped the poetic sometimes. In J. Wordsworth it seems to have at last suppressed it." [1]

He had, in fact, the making of a moralist, but not of a philosopher in the Oxford sense. It may have been misgiving about metaphysics that had excited his desire for Cambridge. Though he read diligently, philosophy was a toil, and throughout his life he doubted the value of such reasoning. I remember his criticism, not of the substance but of the method, of the present Bishop of Oxford's book on the Eucharist.[2] Metaphysical considerations, or what Wordsworth regarded as such, were introduced in the theological discussion. This was unwise. It would alienate "sensible" people, the very class most worth conciliating. Sensible people instinctively suspect a case so presented. They feel that this is a last resource; the reasoner, by adducing such arguments, confesses his lack of solid grounds. And when Wordsworth himself had to lecture on the doctrine of grace, he lamented the uninteresting character of the subject and the difficulty of finding enough to say. After a few obvious remarks, he says, he could think of nothing more that was worth utterance. The subtlety of thought lavished on that immemorial controversy repelled him,

[1] Professor Stewart continues: "I have an idea that the poetic side came to the Wordsworth family through the Cooksons. A little girl who was a Cookson wrote poetry which her cousin W. Wordsworth thought highly of. It has been published, and is certainly very remarkable. W. Wordsworth's mother was a Cookson." [Mary Ann Cookson, *Poems on Various Subjects*, 1829. There were three editions in that year, but the book has not been reprinted.]

[2] Charles Gore, *The Body of Christ*, 1901.

or at least failed to stimulate his attention. Perhaps, if Oxford ethics rose above the foundations of that science, and if psychological observation were encouraged, a course attractive to such a mind might be devised: but Oxford is a stepmother to psychology. Wordsworth, at any rate, was uninterested in the philosophy set before him. The epithets which in his maturity he would use to express his satisfaction with an argument were "sensible" and "fair"; not the terms that would be chosen by one who wished to push reasonings to a conclusion. When he was describing the character of his uncle, Charles Wordsworth, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, he wrote, "His religious faith was serene and rational, while he had little sympathy for the philosophical and mysterious elements of religion"; and the description was designed as praise. But he did not spare himself in this uncongenial study. Only in one term does he confess to "not much reading," and it was the term in which he read privately with Walter Pater, his future colleague at Brasenose. Pater, he says, was profitable for essay writing:—

"he wants me to study the writing of Prose. He puts it as composition above Poetry, confessing that he had himself failed to succeed in the latter. His prose style is certainly very good and finished."

Probably Pater's was not the tuition best suited to the case; there is no indication that any other teacher in the second part of his course awakened special interest in Wordsworth. It is not surprising that he was placed in the second class in 1865; and he felt more his father's disappointment than his own. Writing in 1870 to his brother, who had just taken an *aegrotat* degree at Cambridge in classics, he prophesies that this misfortune will not hinder his prospects of a fellowship.[1]

[1] Mr. Christopher Wordsworth, scholar of Trinity, was elected to a fellowship at Peterhouse in 1870.

"It is a severe trial, but one which you will know how to bear . . . at any rate, it will not be worse than getting a second class, which I have scarcely found to be any obstacle to myself, and which I have always subjectively thought rather a good thing than otherwise."

His future career was as yet undecided. His Oxford friends seem to have assumed that he would take Holy Orders, and he was too reserved to discuss his plans with them. It was his father's hope that he would be ordained, and he had no mental difficulties, while he was keenly interested in many sides of clerical life and in subjects germane to the calling. He had busied himself at New College with sacred studies that were of no service for the schools, as when he devoted much labour to a careful, old-world scheme of Biblical chronology, on the lines of Jerome and Usher, which he carried more than halfway through the Old Testament.[1] But he was not clear as to the line of duty, and he had a horror, says a sister, of becoming a clergyman "because it was the way of the family." But his scruples were his own. Those who knew him best are sure that he was already too resolute to be deterred by the noisy anticlericalism then prevalent in Oxford, which proclaimed, as Creighton has told us, that the man of ability who took Orders was either a knave or a fool.

For Wordsworth the difficulty of deciding was increased by the wish that he had formed, and confided to his diary, before his twenty-first birthday, to marry the lady who after six years became his wife. He had to keep the desire to himself for several years, and had frequent anxieties, but he did not allow this interest to distract him from his work. It necessarily affected his

[1] It was vitiated by ignorance of mathematical conditions. He tried to work the problem out from the text of Scripture, accepted as it stood.

plans. He was born to be a scholar, and the path to a life of learning lay through a fellowship. A fellowship, however, in those days was of brief tenure unless the holder took Orders, and it was vacated by marriage. College teaching as a life career was hardly imagined; men taught, more or less patiently, to fill the years till their living reached them. The prospect was not attractive to Wordsworth, who had to depend on his earnings, and as yet had not felt himself justified in mentioning his wish to the parents of Miss Coxe. Other plans of life were equally disheartening. He thought of the bar; he was offered his articles as a solicitor, with the prospect of a partnership, by his uncle, who was head of the firm of Messrs. Foster and Frere. But though he had a legal mind, as his studies and successes as a Bishop were to show, either branch of the profession exacted years of patience. He also thought of becoming an architect, a calling for which his tastes fitted him. But for the present he took a course which was more usually adopted then than now, at least for a time, by young men of ability; he became a schoolmaster.

His first adventure was at Harrow, where he spent six months, from January to the end of July, in 1866. He went as assistant in his form and house to Edwyn Vaughan, a brother of the famous Master of the Temple. He confesses that "he does not think he was much good to him"; and the judgment of a contemporary at Harrow is that his pupils could do what they liked with Wordsworth, whose talents lay in other directions than the teaching of boys. His shortness of sight and his deliberate, or even slow, procedure must have given the boys an advantage. Still, he speaks of "getting into the swing of his work"; he played football and made—

"some warm friends among the boys of the house; C. B. Heberden (now Principal of B.N.C.), R. G. Tatton, whom I

made a Coningtonian afterwards, Reginald Digby, Sydney Pelham, son of the Bishop of Norwich."

He had gone to Harrow under the stipulation that he was to be free to continue his studies and to compete for fellowships. In the latter pursuit he was as yet unsuccessful; but under the date Tuesday, 27th May, 1866, he makes the entry—

"'Digna dies nullast candidiore nota.'

"For to-day New College has obtained the three Chancellor's Prizes.

"*G. Cremer:* Latin Verse. 'Virgil reciting his poem to Augustus and Octavia.'

"*A. O. Prickard:* English Essay. 'Autobiography.'

"*John Wordsworth:* Latin Essay. 'Comparison of Thucydides and Tacitus.'"

The last, entitled "Erasmus, sive Thucydidis cum Tacito Comparatio," was recited at the Encaenia on the 13th June, 1866, and is introduced by the author as follows:—

"The dialogue is supposed to be written by Sir Thomas More in 1535, the last year of his life, and dedicated to his daughter, Margaret Roper. The scene is laid in the garden of Lambeth Palace in the year 1513, in which Sir Thomas More finished his history of Richard III. as far as it remains to us. The persons presented are William of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in the year 1532; Colet, founder of St. Paul's School, who died in 1519; and Erasmus, then on one of his frequent visits to England, who died, about a year after the execution of Sir Thomas More, in 1536."

Wordsworth's own opinion, before the decision, was that—

"according to the judgment of partial though discerning friends it is written in good Latin, but wants severity of treatment, and does not sufficiently get the two historians side by side. I think this is true; and it rather vexes me,

as I feel that I know a good deal more of them than I have put into the essay."

It is a good piece of work in its kind, readable and thoughtful and well worthy of the recognition it obtained.

But the chief importance for Wordsworth's life of his residence at Harrow was in two friendships that he formed there. His relation to the Vaughans became very close. Vaughan was preparing in middle life to take Holy Orders; he was labouring under a prolonged and depressing illness, which ended fatally in 1868 at Bath, where he was serving as assistant curate at Walcot Church. For the first time Wordsworth was brought into close contact with suffering, and had the opportunity of exercising his great powers of sympathy. Numerous letters of even passionate gratitude show how he helped Vaughan and his wife to bear the burden, and his friendship to her and her child continued long into her widowhood. The episode is perhaps chiefly remarkable in showing an early maturity. Not many men could have taken the lead in such a case in their twenty-third year. But it is also an anticipation of a very effectual part of his pastoral activity in later life. It was at Harrow also that he formed the friendship of Westcott, then a house master in the school, through whom he became engaged in his first important literary work, his series of articles in the *Dictionaries of Christian Antiquities and Christian Biography*. For some years he was to find his chief alliance in the Cambridge group of which Westcott was one of the heads. Yet though he grew intimate with the Westcott family, the philosophy of that divine was less to his mind than the scholarship. He could enter heartily into the patristic interests of Lightfoot, with whom a lifelong friendship began through Westcott, and he was soon to share the churchly aims of Benson; but he was cool towards Westcott's exegesis and his social schemes.

On the 23rd May, 1866, John Wordsworth received from the Master of Wellington a letter which was to have important results for both, and for the English Church. Dr. Benson's opportunities as yet were those of a teacher in a public school. He had not begun that study of St. Cyprian which was to mould his ecclesiastical thought, and his friendships were with schoolmasters or with academic students. When, on Conington's recommendation, he offered Wordsworth a place on the staff of Wellington College, he was opening to himself a new world of interests. Through the son he made the acquaintance, which quickly ripened into a filial affection, of Christopher Wordsworth, and so was led to Lincoln, and thence to Truro and to Lambeth. All this began in Benson's letter, written to one who was as yet a stranger :—

"The duties would be to teach the Lower Sixth Form, and to take part of the Composition of the Upper Sixth, as well as to take the whole Sixth during such examinations (this would not imply extra hours) of the whole school as the head master has to conduct. While the work is more immediately connected with my own, the position as regards the boys and the rest of the staff is as independent in all respects as any other mastership. I mention this because it is not, I believe, always the case. The work is agreeable, and not excessive in amount. The boys, I am sure I may say, are thoroughly pleasant to deal with, and would work heartily for any energetic master, who would be firm with them, and in earnest about his own work. In their position in the school boys are never averse to taking life easily, while yet they thoroughly approve of being made to work."

Wordsworth accepted the post, to which a liberal stipend was attached, on the terms that he was still to be at liberty to compete for fellowships. He was not disheartened by his experience at Harrow, nor considered himself unsuited for the work of a schoolmaster. Indeed,

among the schemes he was soon to consider for hastening his marriage, none was more often to be discussed than the application for a head mastership. He began work at Wellington in September, and received from Edwyn Vaughan (who was now at Bath)—

"a line of friendship and sympathy in your commencement in a new place of a work (I fear) not wholly congenial. Perhaps none the worse for you on that account. You will perhaps be feeling a little depressed amongst so many strangers. I hope there are many who will appreciate your work with them and for them as they ought to do, and I am sure any who are really desirous to improve will find you very efficient to help them, and very kind and encouraging also. I am sure there were some in the house at Harrow who could bear testimony to your help and patience with them, and it will be long, I hope, before I forget all your considerate kindness to myself at times of great depression, when a kind friend at hand was worth a great deal."

Wellington, when Wordsworth began work there on his twenty-third birthday, was not at its best. Mr. E. K. Purnell writes :—

"The peculiar vigour, or rather rigour, of the head master's methods did not render easy his work, which was practically that of understudy to the future Archbishop. With Wordsworth's predecessor—a very brilliant scholar of the type of C. S. Calverley, but hopeless as a disciplinarian—the two divisions of the Sixth had been taking a rest-cure, and the new 'Sixth Tutor's' placid disposition and gentle ways scarcely provided a sufficiently bracing tonic. The head master himself at this time was finding 'the Sixth a dead weight which it was impossible to struggle against' (*Life*, by A. C. Benson, i. 207)."

But Wordsworth was pleased both with the place and the boys. He writes in 1891 :—

"I enjoyed football and hare and hounds, and no doubt the sandy soil and heathy and firry surroundings of Wellington

College were very helpful to me. It was the only time in my life that I have lived in such country, and I have always had an affection, nay, a craving, for it since. E. W. B. was of course most stimulating, and there were other masters who were well worth knowing."

Of the boys he says at the time—

" they are most dear creatures; such gentlemen, but all but four or five capable of using the accusative for the nominative in an exercise. With one of them, by name Verrall, I have formed a friendship. He is wonderful in the variety of his interests and would please Conington much."

The future Professor Verrall was, in fact, the one really great scholar reared by Wellington in Benson's time.[1] He was somewhat delicate, and was favoured, very wisely, both by Benson and by Wordsworth, who speaks of him as—

" a very clever boy with a lower lip like Dante's, untidy, and to many people a bore, but I do not find him so . . . sits generally in my room, and promises really great things, performing even wonders for a boy."

At this time Verrall was sixteen. Wordsworth preserved many of his exercises, and corresponded regularly with him for several years. Nor did Verrall cease to be grateful. When the *Times*, in its obituary notice of the Bishop, said that " it may be doubted whether John Wordsworth was quite the sort of teacher to inspire boys," he wrote[2] that in a sense this might be true, but that—

" he did for me during his tenure of the mastership and even afterwards all that man could, opening the field of scholarship by free and fascinating talks, directing me to books and giving me the run of his own, and in short by every means applicable

[1] See his contribution to Benson's *Life*, i. 115 ff.
[2] *Times*, 17th August, 1911.

to the case. When he went to Brasenose he invited me there, and gave me, though a mere boy, opportunities and introductions invaluable. I had no personal claim on him whatever, and have no doubt that he did for others likewise according to their needs."

But there were others beside Verrall in Wordsworth's class who were worthy of instruction. Eight or ten among them won scholarships at Oxford or Cambridge, and friendly memories remained on both sides.

He had meanwhile competed for four fellowships, leaving Harrow or Wellington for the purpose. In each case he had been unsuccessful. Twice it had turned out that philosophical subjects were those on which stress was laid; on the other occasions the fellowships were awarded to W. Sanday of Corpus and E. L. Hicks of Brasenose, and it was no reproach to have been defeated by the present Margaret Professor and Bishop of Lincoln. Wordsworth had made up his mind, with his father's approbation, that he would not try again, but accept the career of a schoolmaster as that of his life. He recognised its drawbacks in a narrowing of interests and in the necessity, at least in his own case, of devoting the whole attention to the duties of the office. At a moment of despondency he speaks of "the frozen monotony of a tyrannical life which some schoolmasters lead." On the other hand, he was "dreaming dreams" about matrimony, and as a master he had better hopes of speedy marriage than he would have with a fellowship; and Benson was thanking him for his services, saying that it was long since he had had so little trouble with his Sixth.

But such dreams were to come to nothing. At a late hour on Saturday, 26th January, 1867, Wickham learned that Brasenose College was looking for an exact scholar, like Wordsworth, in a fellowship examination

which was to begin on the following Monday. The post would not serve, but a friend volunteered to convey the message to Wellington College. It reached Wordsworth just before morning chapel. He hired a dogcart for Reading, told the Master as he emerged from chapel, who raised no obstacle, and reached Stanford in time to read the afternoon lessons for his father. Dr. Wordsworth approved the venture, and on Monday morning his son went in for the examination. The papers lasted four days, and were devoted almost entirely to classical subjects. On the Friday, after a *viva voce* examination, Wordsworth was elected to a Founder's fellowship, took the necessary oaths in chapel, dined in hall, and had his health drunk in common room.

What he had learned from Benson he described in the memorial sermon he preached after the Archbishop's death in Salisbury Cathedral, on the 18th October, 1896.

"I was a master under him only for two terms; but my relation to him, as composition master, was a very close one, and those terms made a great change in my life, and were not without their effect on his. I cannot describe the kindling and exhilarating feeling which his friendship gave me, fresh, though not indeed quite fresh, from the somewhat cold and sceptical atmosphere of Oxford as it then was. Our home interests were always deeply involved with the fortunes of the Church. My father, I may almost say, lived for nothing else. But his mind inclined rather to the sadder and more solemn aspects of the present, and still more of the future. To know intimately one who shared to the full our traditional love for and loyalty to the Church of England, and yet was inspired with buoyant hope and fired with visions for her future still greater than her past, was a help to me then, and when I returned to Oxford for eighteen years of tutorial work, and again since, such as nothing else perhaps could have been."

CHAPTER III

BRASENOSE COLLEGE—LATIN SCHOLARSHIP

JOHN WORDSWORTH had headed his diary for 1867 with the words, "Conabor, Te adjuvante." But in spite of his fellowship his plans were unsettled. Just before his election he had written :—

"Absence from Oxford for a year and the prospects of independence and honourable work have naturally modified my desire, never very intense, for a fellowship: still I cannot help wishing to succeed this time, when I suppose I have a better chance than on any former occasion. It will give me time to travel and to attend divinity lectures; to lay some foundation for a literary work perhaps. My present idea is a church history. This might modestly air itself at first in an *étude* on some person or period. But this is all at present ἄπειρον."

After his election :—

"It is still doubtful whether I must reside at Easter or in October; when I do it will be for some time. I don't feel thoroughly happy at it: 'medio de fonte leporum surgit amari aliquid.' Not at having to give up New College,[1] nor entirely because I have to leave this place [Wellington], but αὐτῇ ξύνοιδε τῶν πικρῶν ἡ καρδία.[2] Still, to have given my father and some others pleasure is a great thing."

The fellowship, which would cease with marriage, and which as yet was not augmented by a lectureship

[1] Where he had twice failed of election.

[2] This must be Wordsworth's own rendering of Prov. xiv. 10, "The heart knoweth his own bitterness."

or tutorship, threw back his prospect of matrimony, though it was a comfortable provision for a bachelor. Official fellowships were as yet unknown, but under the Ordinances of 1863 the Principal and Fellows of Brasenose had large powers of enforcing residence, and Wordsworth had clearly been elected with a view to his taking a share in college work. He was not to have the respite of which he had dreamed.

He was summoned into residence for the summer term of 1867 with an easy lectureship in classics and a small remuneration. At the end of the term he won his last junior distinction, being elected with E. L. Hicks of Corpus to the Craven scholarship. He was still unsettled in mind, and for a moment formed the plan of claiming a College living. Gillingham, in Kent, a suburb of Chatham with some 7000 inhabitants, was vacant in June, and he thought of having it kept for him till he was qualified by Orders to take it. The temptation was strong, for as yet he had no hope of settling with a wife in Oxford. But it was promptly and wisely dismissed; it certainly would not have had his father's sanction.

The Long Vacation was chiefly passed in Germany. A visit to Berlin with his sister Elizabeth as his companion was spent in hard work in the University Library upon the Roman Emperors for the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and in intercourse with the Professors. Mommsen unfortunately was absent, but several interesting acquaintances were made. Dorner, the historian of Christian doctrine, was—

"a very fine character, slightly dreamy perhaps, but full of good sense and also of humour. He belongs to the Oberkirchenrath, and is all for the United Church, against Hengstenberg and the ultra-Lutherans. I made him a present of my father's edition of Job, which he seemed much pleased to have."

With Dorner Wordsworth several times attended the worship of the Moravians. There were also Hübner, engaged on the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions and in particular upon its British volume, to whom Wordsworth was able to render services in England, Kiepert the geographer, Weber the Sanskrit scholar, Hengstenberg, Lepsius, and Ranke, who "was very civil and talked about Oxford. He was odd, however, and seemed to have had a Troll among his ancestors." At Berlin he also came to know two young French students who were working in the Library, Gabriel Monod, the future historian of early France, and Samuel Berger, who was to be the author of the *Histoire de la Vulgate*, and a lifelong friend. From Berlin Wordsworth and his sister travelled for four weeks of laborious sight-seeing in South Germany and the adjacent parts of Austria. Though they had worked conscientiously, he notes with penitence that they might have seen more in the time. On his return to England he settled for the last month of the vacation at his father's house in the Westminster cloisters to continue his work on the Emperors, and especially on their coins in the British Museum.

The Michaelmas term found him in better spirits. "On the whole I have every reason to be satisfied with my position," he writes in his diary. A new interest was a brown cob which he bought for £35, the first luxury of his independence and the earliest of a succession of riding horses which he kept for more than twenty years. Though he gave up hunting, they were not wanting in spirit, for Wordsworth rejected the cautious advice of Burgon.

"One day," said the future Dean of Chichester, "I put my hand on his arm and said, 'John, do you remember how Bishop Bull used to say: When I choose a horse for myself

I always try my best to choose one that is as much of an ass as possible?'"[1]

The College did not engross his time, though he had a promising class for Honour Moderations. One Saturday he led a Brasenose football team to Wellington, and they enjoyed the game. He spent the Sunday with the Bensons. On the following Sunday he was in Cambridge, improving his acquaintance with Lightfoot, whom he already knew through Westcott. Lightfoot is "a shortish man, not handsome, partly bald. He has something of the activity and humility of Westcott, with rather less momentary enthusiasm and readiness, but perhaps more exactitude. I hope I may see more of him." This was the beginning of a very hearty and helpful friendship. Wordsworth, in fact, through Benson, Westcott, and Lightfoot, came to be for some years quite as much at home in Cambridge modes of thought and work as in those of Oxford. But one great Cambridge figure did not attract him. On Sunday, 17th November, F. D. Maurice was preaching before the University on Christian Unity. The sermon—

"began by being fluffy, but got more decided before the close. I found that others had the same difficulty in attending to it as I had, though my thoughts were more distracted than usual by my talk about books with Lightfoot."

It is just to say that his esteem for Maurice increased in later years.

Meanwhile Wordsworth was preparing for his ordination. Among the motives that had drawn him for a time towards other callings neither speculative doubt, which was quite alien to his modes of thought, nor indifference to religion had held a place. He had passed, so far as

[1] From Canon R. G. Livingstone, through Archdeacon Bodington.

can be seen, through no crisis of feeling at any point in his life. From childhood he had believed, simply and seriously, as he had been taught, and had consistently aimed at carrying out the doctrine in practice. When, as Fellow of Brasenose, he had in the course of duty to enter into Holy Orders, he could do so without any reserve, as the natural development, and even completion, of his career. How natural it was appears from the continuance of his ordinary pursuits and studies, duly noted in his diary, during the preceding term. The verse that he wrote, and it is abundant, bears no relation to his impending ordination. On Sunday, 22nd December, 1867, he was ordained deacon in Christ Church Cathedral by Bishop Wilberforce. Wordsworth has left an account of the ceremony and of its antecedents, which shows how far short Wilberforce's reforms fell of modern practice. On the Thursday before the ordination the candidates (20 for priests', 23 for deacons' Orders) assembled at 10 a.m. at Cuddesdon Palace. After chapel there were four papers. After dinner came chapel again, with an extempore address by the Bishop. The procedure was the same on the Friday, with a *viva voce* examination by Archdeacon Pott and a short interview with the Bishop thrown in. The evening addresses were excellent. On the Saturday morning—for two nights the candidates had slept at Cuddesdon—there was chapel with Holy Communion and an address, followed by breakfast at 11. Then another paper, which was not looked over, dinner about 5.30, declarations, signatures, payment of fees, and chapel. The candidates left Cuddesdon for Oxford about 9 p.m. "If the weather had been better and punctuality more kept, everything would have been pleasant; as it was, it left us very tired, but in my case thankful for the three days." On the Sunday the Ordination Service began at 10, Liddon preached for

an hour, from 10.45 to 11.45, on the text, St. John xv. 16—

"giving a passage to College Fellows, for which I was grateful. The service ended about 2.30, and after about twenty minutes more we got our letters of Orders at the Archdeacon's, and I went up to meet my people at luncheon." [1]

He officiated for the first time on the Christmas Day in his father's church at Stanford in the Vale, and there on the following Sunday, 29th December, he preached his first sermon on St. Luke x. 23, 24, comparing the heathen and the Jewish hopes with the Christian. He was ordained priest at St. Luke's, Maidenhead, on Sunday, 21st February, 1869, but has left no account of the day.

On the Tuesday following his ordination as deacon he accepted from the Principal of Brasenose the office of tutor in the College, vacant through the unexpected resignation of Mr. Albert Watson, who remained in residence and succeeded to Wordsworth's lectureship.

"I shall have Mods work, pass and class, and a Divinity lecture and compositions: about eleven hours' lectures, and compositions much as at present. With my fellowship it will bring me in an income more than I could have expected or deserved."

To his classical work there was soon added that of tuition in Theology. The University in 1868 instituted an Honour School of Theology, the first examinations in which were held in 1870. Wordsworth was appointed by his College to instruct its members who might read for the School. He retained his work, both classical and theological, and also his tutorship till he became Oriel Professor in 1883.

In his lecturing Wordsworth was deliberate and

[1] His mother, three sisters, and brother were present.

detailed. Dr. Way,[1] one of his most distinguished classical pupils, says that he "would lecture on a comparatively small section in considerable detail rather than attempt to cover the whole ground. He was not a sophist." Evidence to the same effect might be adduced in abundance from pupils reading classics and theology with serious attention. But not all the undergraduates of Brasenose were devoted to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. There were those who wanted to learn as much as would be useful in the Schools, and to learn it in a form that might be reproduced in examination. These found his lectures unpractical. There were others, seeking Honours it is true, yet starting at too low a level of knowledge to profit by his instruction. And there were passmen who too often were merely perplexed by his erudition. It must be borne in mind that, forty years ago, the art of lecturing had not been carried to such a pitch of efficiency as has been reached to-day, and that in the election to fellowships weight of knowledge and capacity for promoting its advance were the sole consideration, while now practical usefulness in the business of teaching is taken into account. Under the old system, if grotesque failures, such as Wordsworth's case was not, were sometimes incurred, there was, at any rate, a better chance for exceptional scholarship to find a home in the University. But he had the drawbacks of his qualities, and the memory of his pupils often recurs to the less effectual side of his teaching.

"I should not like to say," reports one, "that he was a great success as a tutor. The ordinary undergraduate did not understand him, and as a lecturer he was often much above the intellectual capacity of the average man. Men thought his lectures dull; a friend of mine, in fact, complained

[1] J. P. Way, Scholar of B.N.C., B.A. 1874, late head master of Rossall.

that they were dull. The complaint somehow got round to John Wordsworth, who characteristically remarked, 'I thought they were about the level of the men who came to them.' There was often a dreaminess, or what seemed to us a dreaminess, in his lecturing. On one occasion, after a somewhat obscure lecture, he walked to the window, and looking out into the quad said, 'Perhaps you will write me an essay on the Ark as a type'; then came a pause, during which we waited somewhat curiously, and then he added, 'as a type of other things.' I have no recollection of any essays on the subject being produced. But the fact was he was far too great on intellect to be a help to the average and somewhat idle undergraduate. He could not realise that other people did not know as much as he did himself."

Another, and a very competent pupil, the Archdeacon of Wilts,[1] writes :—

"As a lecturer (I can only speak of his Greek Testament, his Cicero and Latin composition lectures) I can only use about him his own words about some one else, 'He knew too much about it to be a good lecturer.' . . . No! it was only his bye-products that were good for the Schools."

He soon began to give advanced instruction outside the routine of classical teaching. He took a hereditary interest in inscriptions, and at his home there was a fine library of the standard works on the subject. He was himself a subscriber to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* and its auxiliary the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*. His concern, unlike that of the older scholars of his family, was with Latin rather than with Greek learning. He was gaining Conington's approval for his scheme, somewhat bold for a man of twenty-five, in the Long Vacation of 1868. It was to be a course on Latin literature. Conington thought that it would be of the usual type :—

"I suppose you will be tolerably miscellaneous, here a fact, there an opinion. The great thing to aim at is to be

[1] E. J. Bodington, Scholar of B.N.C., B.A. 1885, Rector of Calne.

tolerably interesting and salient, so that men shall not feel that they could get it all as well by looking in the *Dictionary of Biography*. I don't think £1 too much to ask, though I suppose any fee acts as a deterring force."

But in Michaelmas term the lectures had come to deal with the very beginnings of Latinity. They were assisted by a printed abstract and lithographed facsimiles: "What wouldn't I have given," wrote Benson, "when I was an undergraduate for instruction of this kind, all thrown into shape!" In the summer of 1869 he formed the plan of "a little book on Early Roman inscriptions, to popularise Mommsen and Ritschl," and for the next three years continued to lecture on Early Latin literature and the inscriptions. It is of one of these lectures that the incident has been recorded,[1] how "when one of his emendations in an Early Latin inscription worked out at last in the form *dedrot* (= dederunt), he neither understood nor heeded the general smile." But very possibly he did understand, and he had great control of his features. The present Warden of Keble, who attended these early lectures, says:—

"I think that he impressed me, as an undergraduate, more than any other lecturer that I attended with his extraordinary learning. He had none of Max Müller's power of making a philological subject interesting, or of Professor Scott's (afterwards Dean of Rochester) charm of exact exegesis. These are the two lecturers who *attracted* me most, but John Wordsworth awed and impressed one with his combination of knowledge with a kind of tentative humility which was feeling its way in and out of the very corners, and which was willing to listen to any suggestion from a pupil."

The pecuniary gain of such work was small, and in 1871 and 1872 his lectures on "Latin Inscriptions"

[1] By C. B. H. and F. M., Salisbury *Diocesan Gazette*, 1911, p. 188.

and "Inscriptions of the Republic, especially the fragments of Laws," were announced as "advanced combined lectures," and therefore without fee to the Colleges which shared lectures with Brasenose.

Meanwhile the Delegates of the University Press had invited him to write a book on Comparative Philology. Max Müller was at the height of his influence, and additions to knowledge were expected as confidently from that study as they are to-day from excavation. Wordsworth was master of the current knowledge, and had made a special study, as we have seen, of Early Latin. He consulted Benson, who sketched out a plan for the work, and was eager that it should be undertaken. But he was disappointed to find that Wordsworth had changed his purpose, and was contemplating a volume of *Monuments*, which was ultimately published as the well-known *Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin*. Benson would have had him publish on both subjects, and vigorously urged him to do do. Probably the younger scholar was right. His decision was not due to any doubt of the value of Comparative Philology. Strange as it must seem to an Oxford that is content to know little of the results of that science, and nothing of its methods, he proposed in a paper read before a club of younger tutors, on 23rd February, 1870, that philology should be introduced into the final School of Literae Humaniores as an alternative for either philosophy or ancient history.[1]

Wordsworth's activity was not lessened by his engagement to Miss Coxe in May, 1869, a topic which belongs to the next chapter, but its course was changed by the

[1] More practical suggestions in the same paper were that the members of the club should study subjects in ancient history and philology not recognised in the Schools, and offer free instruction in them; and that there should be founded "a museum of classical antiquities, historical rather than artistic, consisting of typical specimens, such as Ruskin proposes to found for art." This has now been accomplished.

death of Conington, one of whose most favoured pupils he had become, on the 23rd October. To his memory he composed and printed the following elegiacs :—

"AVE ANIMA PIA SIMPLEX DESIDERATISSIMA.

"Johannes Conington, Bostoniae natus anno 1825, Latinarum litterarum quindecim annos professor Oxoniensis, Bostoniae obiit [1] Octobris die 23°, 1869.

"Tene, caput carum, supremum vidimus, eheu ?
lingua silet ? cessat scribere prompta manus ?
non iterum in dubiis tua limina adimus amici ;
non iterum nostras veneris ante fores.
non dulci alloquio cenam celebrabimus una,
non matutini munera grata foci.
non pariter tecum notos lustrabimus agros,
vicinasque urbi despiciemus aquas.

"Heu pietas animi pectusque immune malorum
et pudor et virtus et sine labe fides,
Mensque ad prima tenax mira et prudentia rerum,
Sinceraque nitens simplicitate lepos.

"Tam docilem Musae frustra lugetis alumnum,
tu tamen (at frustra) solve Camena comas.
unus cum latia nostram componere linguam,
calluit ante alios unus utramque lyram.

"Cum quinto steterat vix quadragesimus annus ;
lux brevis : an tantis plenior ulla bonis ?
lux brevis : at puro non improvisa nec alto
flenda supervenit mors necopina viro.
at partem nostri tecum tu detrahis ipse :
noster eras ; sine te nos queror esse parum.
quos igitur tali junxisti foedere amantes,
nos non flere decet sed bene velle magis,
et colere atque alios simili pietate fovere
quos et amaturus tu modo vivus eras.

"B.N.C., Nov. 7, 1869."

[1] *Obiit* was altered to *obdormivit in Christo* in Wordsworth's hand in some copies. It will be seen that he still uses the traditional English spelling.

Conington had been "a dear friend whose place I can never hope to see filled by another, and a most real loss to the University." Wordsworth went, with a large party from Oxford, to the funeral in Lincolnshire, but was unable to follow the professor to the grave. "As I had a bad cold, I had the privilege of reading the service to Mrs. Conington (the mother) and the other ladies." Young as Wordsworth was, the feeling among Conington's disciples was that he should be his successor. It is easy to conjecture the thoughts of their seniors when a tutor of twenty-six claimed one of the prizes of the University. His justification in the eyes of his friends was, in the first place, the extent of his knowledge, well known although as yet he had published nothing; in the second place, that his knowledge was of a kind new to Oxford. It was a challenge to the old learning. The successful candidate, Edwin Palmer, Fellow of Balliol, was an expert in the traditional arts of composition and translation, and doubtless skilled to extract their full educational benefit for his pupils. He, rather than Wordsworth, represented Conington's line of teaching. There was a conflict of methods and interests rather than of persons, and it was felt that Wordsworth was guilty of no presumption in standing against a man much his senior, a chief tutor of the most distinguished College in Oxford.[1]

To support his candidature Wordsworth ventured into print. This was by the advice of W. C. Sidgwick, of Merton, given through Benson; though Sidgwick warned Wordsworth that the electors would vote "for the most ancient candidate." He therefore published his *Lectures introductory to a History of the Latin Language and Literature*, the preface being dated 26th January, 1870. They were, he says—

"part of a course which I have nearly completed, on the Literature of Rome in the pre-Augustan Age. Only one of

[1] So I am assured by Mr. A. O. Prickard and other contemporaries.

these, however, has been actually delivered, namely, that on the Elementary Age; and it has now been subjected to considerable revision. I have not had time to do the same for the rest. Should leisure and opportunity be allowed me, I shall hope to continue and enlarge the work that I have begun, of which I now offer this specimen to the University."

The "Introduction" which follows the preface contains a trenchant criticism of "our traditional method of wide general reading without a definite object, and of giving much of our time to verse composition and to elegance of translation."

"It is not enough," he says, "to point to the great public men who have felt their obligations to this system. It does not suffice to connect our peculiarly English qualities of a reserve of force and a power of rising under pressure with a training of this kind that is peculiarly English. It has been our practice, we may say in our defence, to read widely, especially the best models; to endeavour by original composition in the classical languages to throw ourselves into the spirit under which those models were produced;[1] to attempt by translations of various kinds to acquire a mastery of language, and to train the ear and lips to an instinctive preference for what is just. Our scholars have thus learned to combine freedom of style with accuracy; and to carry into the business of the world the aristocratic spirit which they have imbibed from Greece and Rome. But the time has passed when this result could be accepted by itself. We must confess it, however highly we may prize the individuality fostered by the old tradition."

The time has come for reform, and England must take its place in exploring the field of knowledge which has now been mapped out. Other nations are claiming their share, and we may be content to leave to them

[1] Conington's letters are full of lively denunciation of foreign misapprehension of the classics, due to the unfamiliarity of editors with the actual task of classical composition.

comparative grammar and the philosophy of art and "generally things abstruse and minute and alien from our conceptions of social life." But there are studies for which we have a natural aptitude.

"In the domain of practical archaeology; in all that relates to religion, and especially to Christianity; in appreciating the morality of ancient teachers, and generally in the details of biography and national history, we may, it is believed, be found to have special capabilities for success. There is some truth, probably, in Niebuhr's dictum that the English have more natural historical sense than other people."

Teaching, then, is to be combined with serious research, and—

"it will evidently be the duty of every one of us who take up teaching as a profession to direct his labour to this end, and to endeavour to serve at once his country and the whole cause of education in Europe. Even so simple a matter as the teaching of the history of Latin literature may have its influence to help or hinder the cause; even the labour of a single man may be of some use if conceived aright, however it may fail in execution."

This manifesto, contradicting Jowett's theory of education and accepting the new notion of a University career as one for life, introduced three lectures. The first, on "The Place of Rome in Aryan Civilisation," contained all the theses which the scholars of that day asserted with as much vigour as our present ethnologists devote to their denial. The second was on "The Latin Race in Italy," and dealt in a summary way with the evidence from inscriptions and philology as to the relations of the various Italian peoples. The third, on "The Elementary Age of Latin Literature," was devoted to the laws, the annals, the Saturnian metre, and so forth. The lectures were followed by appendices on the evidence

from language for the kinship between Celts and Italians, and on the Italian alphabets. They were published, as we have seen, in haste, for an immediate purpose, and were meant as specimens of the author's workmanship and examples of the way in which such topics should be treated. They had not, and were not meant to have, a general circulation, and must not be taken as evidence of Wordsworth's full powers. But probably few in England could have shown such various knowledge in so interesting a form, or have indicated with such foresight the lines of coming advance in education and research. No one can be surprised that Palmer was elected.[1] When the post was next vacant, in 1878, by the resignation of Mr. Palmer on his appointment to be Archdeacon of Oxford, Wordsworth was not a candidate. In the interval he had published the *Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin*, and had in other ways established his reputation as a Latin scholar. But he had definitely turned aside from the study of that language and literature to theological pursuits; or rather he was applying his classical knowledge to problems of Biblical and Ecclesiastical history.

Since Wordsworth's career as a classical scholar ends in 1874 with the *Fragments and Specimens*, it will be convenient here to speak of that book, to which many students, now in middle life, look back with gratitude. It has, indeed, never been superseded. No selection of *Fragments and Specimens* so comprehensive and well-chosen has been attempted in England since 1874, and if the philology and the history of grammar must sometimes be corrected in the light of later knowledge, the commentary upon the texts, like the texts themselves,

[1] In the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplement II., it is stated that the professorship was offered to, and declined by, F. W. Walker, Fellow of Corpus, the future High Master of St. Paul's School,

is of permanent value. Mr. S. G. Owen [1] has kindly contributed the following appreciation of Wordsworth's classical work :—

"John Wordsworth was of the generation now passing away one of the few distinguished classical scholars. Though he had not the brilliancy of his able father, he possessed, on the other hand, profound learning and sobriety of judgment. His taste was for the Latin language and literature: the title of his early work, *Lectures introductory to a History of the Latin Language and Literature* (Oxford, 1870), exactly describes the sphere to which his labours were directed not only in that book but later. These lectures, which deal with the earliest literature, and are of an extremely philological character, fell rather flat. But they served to prepare him, and to turn his thoughts into a channel in which he afterwards achieved success. The earlier volumes of the great *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* had recently appeared, making possible the systematic treatment of Early Latin on the basis of the inscriptions. Also the study of Comparative Philology, then a new and enchanting subject, was enthusiastically prosecuted in Oxford, where it flourished through the inspiration of that brilliant genius and attractive personality, Max Müller. Wordsworth's knowledge of Early Latin was profound, and he possessed a no less fundamental knowledge of Comparative Philology. He was well acquainted with the works of Schleicher, Corssen, and Ritschl, and of other continental philologists; and with the historical researches of Mommsen. After years of patient toil he published in 1874 his important work, *Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin*, which was intended 'to render the study of Early Latin more methodical and comprehensive.' In an interesting preface he reviews the numerous materials which he used. This book is still the best introduction in English to the study of Early Latin. It contains a wide selection from the materials; it is admirably clear in its arrangement; it is accompanied by a full and learned commentary; and it is prefaced by a lucid grammatical introduction, in which the Latin pronunciation and

[1] Student of Christ Church.

the philology of the Latin forms are discussed at length. This introduction was in its time a considerable performance. It was thoroughly up to date, and was most helpful to the many undergraduates who then in numbers (now unfortunately attenuated) took up Comparative Philology as a special subject in the School of Honour Moderations. In those days there were giants. There were Max Müller and Sayce; and we got our general knowledge from the admirable College lectures of Mr. H. F. Tozer, of Exeter, whom as a lecturer it would be difficult to match. Further, we found in Wordsworth's book a scholarly and trustworthy treatise, which contrasted favourably with some other handbooks in vogue.

"Wordsworth's Introduction has been superseded by other and, alas! more complicated works, the most valuable of which is Lindsay's important and imposing volume on *The Latin Language*. But it must not be forgotten that Wordsworth's book is marked by a lucidity and conciseness (combined with great accuracy) that is less apparent in modern treatises. I would especially appeal to his discussion of the Latin accent, which is made completely intelligible by Wordsworth's precise exposition. The text of the book itself consists of selections from the early inscriptions, full enough for their time, but which require to be supplemented by later discoveries; Fragments of Early Laws, among which the complete extant fragments of the Twelve Tables are printed and elucidated by an excellent commentary, which is still of great value; and lastly, the chief Fragments of the early poets and prose writers. The commentary on these last is particularly interesting, as it goes beyond mere notes and comprises what is practically a succinct history of Early Latin literature. Of the English works on Latin belonging to this period few can be compared with Wordsworth's for accuracy and thoroughness. It is the production of an exact and sympathetic scholar, who, if he had devoted his life to scholarship, would have done work of the highest order. He was tempted to choose another line,[1] the difficult office of a bishop, in which it was harder to attain to the pre-eminence which in Latin was already assured to

[1] Mr. Owen has forgotten the edition of the Vulgate, which was a classical and philological work in the strictest sense.

him, and where the quiet life of research that he loved was practically impossible. In his choice he gave evidence of the modesty of his character and his devotion to duty. His *Fragments and Specimens* have been widely read and still are read; in them his work as a scholar lives after him."

Mr. T. C. Snow, writes from a more technical point of view:—

"Wordsworth's work in 'profane learning,' as our fathers used to call it, was only a beginning, early broken off by the more absorbing interest of theology. It is contained in the very small volume of *Introductory Lectures* (1870) and in the larger *Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin* (1874). The lectures give no details of grammar, but a rapid summary, first of Early Italian ethnology and anthropology, then of Early Latin literature. To the ethnology and anthropology he was never able to return, except so far as they are treated incidentally in the notes to the *Fragments and Specimens*, and, on the religious side, in his Bampton Lectures. These incidental excursions are enough to show his wonderful power of running through vast masses of literature and picking the essential out of them, which is one of the first necessaries of the anthropologist. Whether he would have gone on to any creative work, is more than we can say from the evidence before us.

"While he had thus to forsake anthropology, he repeated and expanded the literary history in the *Fragments and Specimens*. To the same work he prefixed a grammatical introduction, giving a sketch of the comparative philology of Latin phonetics and inflexions. He wrote at a rather unfortunate time, just before the first of the discoveries which made a greater change in our knowledge of Indo-European grammar than anything that happened since Bopp created it in 1818. The *Fragments and Specimens* was published in 1874; in 1875 Verner put the coping-stone to Grimm's Law; in 1876 Leskien's announcement that 'phonetic laws are invariable' laid down the ideal of scientific precision instead of the old genial latitudes of statement with their 'sometimes' and

[1] Late Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

'exceptionally'; in 1876, also, Brugmann's discoveries of the Indo-European *epsilon* and the vowel-nasal established the polychromatic nature of Indo-European phonetics, and incidentally dethroned Sanskrit from its pride of place in Indo-European grammar; in 1879 De Saussure put the theory of gradation on a systematic basis which enabled his successors to transform it almost beyond recognition. But Wordsworth was cut out of all this by his date. His grammar is the grammar of Corssen and Schleicher, so far as the origin of forms and the progress of sounds is concerned. But it will always retain its own value, because it has Wordsworth's special quality of careful and verified statement of facts. When he gives a form, he always tells you what grammarian quotes it, what inscription contains it, and what objections there may be to that particular quotation and that particular inscription.

"There is no such drawback to the more substantive part of the *Fragments and Specimens*. Even now, there is no collection of material so useful for the study of Early Latin. Of course it is a selection; it does not profess to reproduce the whole of the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, or of the extant fragments of tragedy or comedy or satire, down to the single words which do duty for so many of them. But the selection does contain everything of any importance in the way of language, or history, or law, or religion, or poetry, or rhetoric. And it happens that very little of such material has accrued since Wordsworth wrote. Latin has produced no finds of manuscripts like Bacchylides or Herodas, no finds of inscriptions like the Ode of Isyllus or the Code of Gortyn. (I do not under-rate the Lapis Niger and the Quirinal Urn, but Greek produces their equals every two or three years, and there is no sensation about them.)

"The great value of the book is in Wordsworth's notes. They are full of the most varied and compressed information. Their mastery of all the relevant authorities up to his time is astonishing, especially at his age. One would think that the mere reading of them must have taken all his time from his degree in 1865 to the publication of the book. On any one of the 280 closely printed pages there are at least a dozen references, which may be anywhere in antiquity from Homer

to Prudentius, anywhere in the modern world from Scaliger to Lucian Müller, and one can be sure that he has always read them for himself. And the collection is no mere compilation. On everything that he puts down he exercises a close and vigilant judgment, even on such an apparently alien field as Roman Law.

"In my first year as an undergraduate I heard Wordsworth's lectures on Latin Grammar. They contained practically the same matter as the introduction to the *Fragments and Specimens*, which were published three years later. It is hard to imagine what a revelation the lectures were to a schoolboy who had been brought up, as schoolboys were then, in the atmosphere of Max Müller's lectures, to think of Comparative Philology as a thing of poetical and mystical enthusiasms founded on details which were quite inaccessible to anybody who was not familiar with Sanskrit and German. Here were the details plain to see, all worked out in the field of the familiar Latin and capable of being verified by one's own immediate observation. For the first time one was admitted into the inner circle of Comparative Philology, to be no longer a mere admirer of the results but a fellow-worker in the processes. After that, my knowledge of him was very slight. I held a short and very friendly dialogue with him across the table of the Schools in Honour Moderations (at that time that examination included a *viva voce*), in which he began by asking me to 'speak a little louder, because it was so hot,' and went on to ask where I had learned Comparative Philology, and I had to answer, 'From your lectures,' and then we discoursed a little on the classification of stems. And then, unhappily, I very rarely met him. I am afraid that neither of us was ever in the other's rooms, but when we did meet he was always friendly, and generally had something to say about our common study."

To quote one more authority on the same work, *Fragments and Specimens*, Dr. Sanday[1] says that—

"at once it showed its author's full calibre. It is tempting to speculate what would have happened if John Wordsworth

[1] *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. v., 1912.

had continued on these lines and had spent the rest of his days as a rival in erudition to Professor J. E. B. Mayor at Cambridge. We can imagine how such a *par nobile fratrum* would have been fitted to speak with the scholars of other nations in the gate. But this was not to be. The young tutor felt keenly his obligations for the religious training of his pupils; and his steps were more and more deflected in the direction of theology."

But the change can be more precisely dated than Dr. Sanday's words indicate. One of his Brasenose colleagues, Mr. Humphry Ward, remembers that he congratulated Wordsworth on the completion of the *Fragments*, and asked what his next undertaking was to be. He was told that it would be theological. The transference of interests was not half-hearted. Chancellor Bernard, speaking of the change, says:—

"there was a time when, in the words of the Ordinal, 'he drew all his cares and studies that way.' No half-measure would have enabled him to achieve what he did achieve in sacred learning, textual, liturgical, and historical. It is therefore not to be regretted, though worth remarking, that he appeared in later years to have entirely lost interest in classical literature, at any rate on its literary side. I do not remember his ever quoting a classic or betraying that delight in the beauty of Greek or Latin poetry which clings throughout life to those who have tasted them in youth."

Perhaps the Chancellor has somewhat overstated the case. Yet from 1874 onwards, though Wordsworth was busily engaged in classical tuition for nine years, he did not go beyond the routine of duty in that pursuit. He had been Classical Moderator in Honours from 1870 to 1872, and was Craven Examiner in 1870 and 1871, but he filled no such positions afterwards, nor did he take such part in the academic debates of the time, especially in regard to the important examination statute,

as might have been expected of a tutor fully employed in the practical teaching of Oxford. In what small share he took, he was from time to time on the side of what was regarded as academic liberalism, repugnant though that side of Oxford thought was to him in matters more serious than the machinery of education.

A visit to Italy in the Easter vacation of 1868 may serve as occasion for giving a specimen of his descriptive verse. He was alone, and worked very conscientiously at the sights of Parma, Bologna, and other cities. He sought out objects of interest that were not easily accessible; his historical studies had already developed in him that iron resolve to see everything worth seeing that was sometimes in later years to be disconcerting to bashful or weary companions. It was natural that Ravenna should impress him, and he addressed a long descriptive poem from thence to his friend, Mr. W. J. Courthope, of which part is as follows:—

"Brown Ravenna, and the shade
Of her unnumbered pines, that ancient wood,
Her noble rampart from the treacherous flood.
All round is sand and marsh and dullest plain
Rice-sown, with dykes between, and coarser grain.
Straight dusty roads, old Rome's imperial lines
Ruled for her legions: rows of rusty vines
Bound to short close-clipped elms. Ravenna, where
The weak slave-prince Honorius made his lair,
And strong Theodoric ruled: where Dante lies
(A poor cell decked with tasteless artifice)
A sad deserted city, shrunk and bare,
With nought of commerce but the common ware
That her dull citizens use, who spend their days
Smoking and lounging in the grass-grown ways.
Leave the hot pavement and the rough-set street
And o'er Vitale's threshold lift your feet:
We seem (no more in Italy) 'neath the dome
Of Saint Sophia, far in Asian Rome.

Above the altar still, on either hand,
In robes of state Emperor and Empress stand,
The vain Justinian and his courtly throng,
His vicious zealot-queen her maids among,
As fresh and living as upon the day
Great Charles stood here before them, on his way
From Rome, a crownèd emperor, grave, and filled
With thoughts of high tradition: soon to build
Like this at Aix a chapel of his own,
Soon in its centre 'neath a simple stone,
With but his name as epitaph, to lie."

Though Justinian did not fall within the period he was treating for the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, it was by a natural extension of interest that he turned to an age which afterwards grew very familiar. The Dictionary work was now making good progress. Ammianus, Constantine, Julian, and the rest called out his powers, and his articles are some of the fullest and most workmanlike in that very unequal assemblage.

Meanwhile, the father had become Bishop of Lincoln. It was at Wellington College, where he was preaching on Sunday, 15th November, 1868, and where his son was also a guest of the head master, that Dr. Wordsworth first asked for counsel, in regard to Disraeli's letter "written pleasantly and courteously," [1] which opened to him the prospect of the episcopate. He had just received it at Stanford, and now disclosed it to Dr. Benson and his son. The story of the complications which preceded his election to Lincoln has already been told. His son was all for acceptance:—

"for him I think it is a thing to be thankful about. He is sixty-one years old and not *very* strong, but generally quite

[1] See Chap. VII. of the Bishop of Lincoln's *Life*. Here, however, John Wordsworth is wrongly described as a Wellington master at this time.

well. He has finished his commentary on the Bible nearly to the end of Jeremiah and Ezekiel; Isaiah was published some weeks ago. And I am really glad that he should have some duties, not too laborious, I hope, to occupy him when this work of his life is over, as it must have been in a few months' time (probably the year after next). He has, I think, qualities in dealing with men and things which befit a man in authority; and he has many noble plans, which it will be worth many a sacrifice to effect."

For John Wordsworth the change meant the loss of both his homes, the one so pleasantly near to Oxford, the other giving him access to London life and to the British Museum. He felt deeply the departure from both.

At his son's suggestion the Bishop designate appointed Dr. Benson one of his chaplains. Benson was grateful. "It is indeed due to you in the first instance that I was appointed, and I am very happy in it indeed. Nothing could more delight me." The friendship, already warm and confidential, rapidly extended to the whole Wordsworth family. It was cemented by Benson's appointment to the prebend of Heydour in Lincoln Cathedral; an honorary post, but one which his vivid imagination filled with historical and practical interest. His letters to John Wordsworth grow increasingly long and intimate. He states to him the reasons for and against his leaving Wellington for Rugby, and unfolds the secret history of the unhappy events there after Temple's departure, his own sympathy being with the assistant masters.[1] Wordsworth is informed of the progress of his Cyprianic studies, and has elaborate schemes of Pauline exegesis submitted for his criticism. But the most anxious part of the correspondence is that in which Benson justifies, for the

[1] "S. Oxon and Mansel," Benson learned, had procured the unfortunate appointment.

Bishop's reading, his own championship of Temple, now Bishop designate of Exeter, against Dr. Pusey's protest and Bishop Wordsworth's suspicion. John Wordsworth was in his father's counsels, and approved his appeal to Temple to disclaim sympathy with his partners in *Essays and Reviews;* on the other hand, he had acted as examiner at Rugby, and so knew Temple, whom he describes in 1869 as having—

"something curious in manner, which is hard to define—a kind of arbitrariness which finds vent in organisation, but might be petty and unpleasant. I did not dislike him at all even from the first; in fact, I seemed to have known him long."

There was, indeed, no serious ground for Benson's fear that Bishop Wordsworth might "take away his scarf." The two men were of one spirit, and a friendship which was to be of great value to both the Wordsworths, and to the whole English Church, was now firmly established.[1]

[1] See Mr. A. C. Benson's *Life* of his father, *passim*, and especially Chaps. VII. and IX. Benson's address to his younger friend was usually "Dearest John." His less demonstrative correspondent was commonly content with "My dear Friend."

CHAPTER IV

BRASENOSE COLLEGE—MARRIAGE—THEOLOGICAL WORK—PERSONAL INFLUENCE

HENRY OCTAVIUS COXE, Bodley's Librarian and one of Dean Burgon's "Twelve Good Men," was, in Burgon's words—

"at the time of his death (8th July, 1881) perhaps the most generally known and universally beloved character in Oxford; and may be declared to have carried with him to his grave a larger amount of hearty personal good will and sincere regret than any of his recent contemporaries."

Susan Esther, his only daughter who survived childhood, born 16th November, 1842, was pre-eminent in the general judgment among the younger ladies of Oxford for gifts and charm. An old friendship connected the family of Frere with that of Mrs. Coxe, who was the daughter of General Sir Hilgrove Turner, and the homes of the Coxes in Beaumont Street and at Wytham Rectory were open to John Wordsworth from his days as a freshman. He had interests in common with the Librarian, and with his elder son, William, who entered the British Museum and would have become a distinguished orientalist had he not died young in 1869.

The friendship with the family had grown into the wish to marry the daughter before Wordsworth was of age: the lady was ten months his senior. But, as we have seen, the uncertainty of livelihood had prevented

him from revealing his wishes. Of his own family he took at first only one sister into his confidence, and he successfully concealed his design from even the closest of his friends. Benson, for instance, himself so communicative, was left in the dark, and also Conington. In spite of various anxieties, reticence was maintained till Wordsworth was appointed tutor of his College. Mr. Coxe, whom he then informed, was sympathetic, but forbade him to open the matter to his daughter. The problem of maintenance was, in fact, further from solution than ever, for the young tutor was coming to the conclusion that residence in Oxford, even at the cost of celibacy, was his duty. There was, however, no coldness in his affections, and though the path to marriage was not yet clear he was allowed to state his case after a year's restriction, and John Wordsworth and Susan Esther Coxe were betrothed. The lady, announcing the event to her future brother-in-law (10th May, 1869), describes herself as—

"frightened out of myself at the notion of belonging to such a clever family. I wonder what a butterfly would do in a beehive. I think bees just as pretty as butterflies, so don't think this a conceited simile."

The engagement was evidently a very happy one. The lovers were constantly meeting, and Wordsworth was inspired to salute the lady not only with much graceful English verse, in which the influence of Matthew Arnold is apparent, but also in an Italian sonnet after the manner of Petrarch. It was also approved by his friends. One of them, who deservedly had the right to be frank, wrote to him :—

"You were a person who ought to marry, and all your student ways and inclinations, which are my admiration, would without a wife have turned you into a dry, rather uncouth and rather eccentric recluse."

But this approbation did not bring the prospect of marriage nearer. For Wordsworth and his friends regarded it as his duty to stay in Oxford and take a share in the impending conflicts, both religious and administrative. It was a time of anxiety and bitterness, and (as it seemed to them) the younger men were called to take the lead. Westcott, a dreamer of noble dreams, added exhortation to his congratulations [1]:—

"I rejoice at the prospect of your own 'complete life': I rejoice that you have determined to continue your work at Oxford; and I rejoice not less at what you tell me of the general spirit of the younger Oxford residents. May you indeed have every blessing in your life and work. The time seems to be 'short,' but if only we can realise the strength which is ours it is long enough to vindicate for the Church of England her mission to the world. Argument seems to have fallen now into the second place, and what we want is action. Nothing else, I think, will win men but life, and will keep them and even strengthen them. I do not think you will really suffer from the want of an older leader. As the work is social, I believe that your strength will really be greater from the completeness and sympathy which springs from equality of standing. It was so with the last great Oxford movement, and it may be so now. Faith can still do all things ἐν Χριστῷ, but we——."

In the same spirit wrote Benson [2]—

"I never dreamed that any Aurora but Philology had been making you so *abstractious* by times. However, I am delighted. But I still should have moaned a little for Theo-Philo-logy had there not been exceeding auguries for your continued devotion to her in the fact that it will be possible for you to live in Oxford, and that associations with all Learnedness will form part of the furniture of your Bride's early recollections as well as your own. . . . 'Marriage is honourable in all,' but it is grievous to see what sacrifices most scholars

[1] Harrow, 10th June, 1869.
[2] Master's Lodge, Wellington College, 1st June, 1869.

make to it. Mind you do not disappoint τὰς προαγούσας ἐπὶ σὲ προφητείας.[1] As to Coll. Aen. Nas., I hope you will succeed in holding it as a citadel. I suppose people arriving at 40 are apt to croak and think their reasons are better than those of former croakers. But if some people do not somewhere go in for Theology determinedly and occupy positions and throw up entrenchments I think our English Church-Land will be lost. If you are helped to hold Brasenose by marrying, as a post of vantage, your marriage will be blest indeed."

But marriage meant the forfeiture of the fellowship, and some substitute had to be found. Mr. Coxe thought he had discovered it in the little vicarage of Ferry Hinksey, and at his suggestion this living was offered to Wordsworth by the patron, Mr. Harcourt of Nuneham. Wordsworth was strongly attracted, and did his best to win the assent of the Principal of Brasenose.

"I feel," he wrote to Dr. Cradock, "and others who know me feel, that I should be personally better for some work amongst the poor, and indirectly a better teacher. . . . I believe that I should be able to manage the two (the vicarage and tutorship) without detriment to the College. I believe that if I have a work of this kind on the spot I am less likely to be drawn away to other places, and so far shall be a more permanent worker. I have not anything of my father's strength and perseverance, but I have at least an example in his case how much may be combined with the management of a large and difficult parish. As to the moral strength to be gained by parochial work I have no doubt that it is great, and I would gladly have this opportunity of self-improvement. But above all I feel the duty to go on in the work which I have in hand in the College, which grows clearer before me, and therefore, if you think this cannot be combined with Hinksey, I shall decidedly give it up."

Its nearness to Oxford, the smallness of its population, and the ease with which clerical assistance could be

[1] 1 Tim. i. 18.

obtained, all made Hinksey a suitable place for the experiment. But the Principal was inexorable; a lectureship, he said, might be held with the living, but not a tutorship, and his opposition was fatal. This was the only occasion when Wordsworth came near to taking a parish. After ten years a pleasant living in Sussex was offered him by the College, but he refused it on the ground that he still had work to do in Oxford. Yet parish work would have been thoroughly congenial to him, and as a Bishop he seized every opportunity of exercising the more spiritual functions of the clergy. He may even be regarded as having been in a remote sense a founder of the Oxford House at Bethnal Green. In 1872 he urged the Warden of Keble and other friends to settle with him at Nottingham for part of the Long Vacation that they might study Church work in a great town. The plan broke down, but was renewed next year, when Lincoln was suggested as the scene. But by this time St. Saviour's, Hoxton, where Mr. Oakley, afterwards Dean of Manchester, was vicar, had drawn the attention of Wordsworth's group of friends, and a course of sermons there in Lent, 1873,[1] was the beginning of the connection between Oxford and the East End of London. Wordsworth himself did not take part in the visit to Hoxton, and the projected residence at Lincoln in the following summer was abandoned. Yet he had had his share in initiating the movement.

Meanwhile, he was doing his best to gain religious influence in Brasenose. Before he had been tutor a year he vainly proposed that occasional sermons should be preached in the chapel; in the summer term of 1869 he got permission to hold a late evening service on Sundays with an address by himself. It is not clear whether

[1] By R. S. Copleston, H. S. Holland, R. C. Moberly, E. S. Talbot, and other members of Mozley's graduate class.

this was in addition to the lectures he was giving on Sunday evenings in that term, which he thus described to his brother [1]:—

". . . I go on with my Sunday evenings successfully enough. On Trinity Sunday I shall read on St. Paul and Philo, having spent three evenings on the text of the first four chapters of 1 Corinthians. I am reading Philo *de Monarchia* as a specimen treatise. My idea is to write a lecture taking for the text 1 Cor. i. 22–24. Here you have the contrast between the σημεῖα and δύναμις on the Jewish side and the σοφία on the Greek; thoughts exemplified very strongly by the two words αἰὼν or αἰῶνες and κόσμος—the world looked upon as a succession of ages in which the providence of God is displayed by miracles and by the ordering of events in an historical and spiritual progress (αἰῶνες); the world conceived as a whole in time—the *Jewish* thought. On the other side the world conceived as a wonderful order, a work of art, a harmony of parts of which the individual man is the centre or at least the proper spectator (κόσμος); the world conceived (you may say) in space—the *Greek* idea. Now the reconciliation of these is a problem which must always be interesting, but was then particularly under discussion, especially at Alexandria, the confluence of East and West. Philo had the problem well before him, and made use of the Jewish Scriptures to solve it. Naturally he hit upon many truths, many likenesses of phrase and thought with the N.T., but his failure, where Christianity (especially interpreted by St. Paul) has confessedly succeeded, is at once a great proof of the divine origin of the Christian solution, and adds a great interest to it historically, as we see that it came when it was needed by mankind and was addressed to them not as a mere miracle to attract attention but as a grace vouchsafed in answer to the demands of their heart and their intellect."

If such an address were open to the College, and not confined to a smaller and more intellectual audience, he was putting a severe strain on the attention of the normal

[1] 12th May, 1869.

undergraduate. As might have been expected, he was soon urging the Principal to sanction changes in the order of service. It was characteristic that he wished to adopt the Christ Church custom of using daily the second Ember Prayer, on the ground of the large number of candidates for ordination. It was his pride in his later days at Brasenose that on the average four-ninths of the graduates of the College had entered Holy Orders during each year of his tutorship.

But if he had evidence of usefulness which made it worth his while, even at the cost of postponing his marriage, to stay where he was, the instinct of combat encouraged this resolve. Already in 1868 he had told his friends that the ideal of many of the fellows was not his own. They were for changes in the University and the Colleges which offended his strongest feelings. He was convinced that the ancient ways were best, and the more so that they were clerical ways. His family, not in a merely obstructive sense, was conservative; he preserved a touching letter from his mother, written on his election to Brasenose, in which she urged him amid the general defection of the time to be loyal to ancient truth and order. The University was a Christian institution, pledged to inculcate a specific form of Christian belief and to require its acceptance from those whom it taught; the Colleges, by the intention of their founders, were still more definitely Christian. This view of the case was being assailed with extraordinary vigour and pertinacity, and the language and methods of its opponents were such as to irritate its upholders; perhaps, indeed, they were designed to irritate them. There is a touch of absurdity to-day about the ideas, practical and philosophical and religious, of those who thought themselves emancipated, and leaders of progress, forty-five years ago. Their notions have not worn well. But they were formidable adversaries, and

the causes they promoted were often better than their arguments. On the other side, there was a good deal of despondency, and a tendency on the part of earnest men to draw together, to emphasise their peculiarities by way of protest, to be an influence for good rather within the circle of their own adherents than by a diffused activity. The outburst of hopefulness among Churchmen which followed upon Oxford's acceptance of the teaching of T. H. Green only began as Wordsworth was leaving the University. His was a time of bitterness, social too often as well as argumentative. And the issues were confused and tempers sharpened on either side by a certain hollowness in both positions. The aggressors promised that they would do great things if the University were set free, while in fact their men, moulded by the old traditions of Oxford, were no better qualified to work a beneficent revolution than their opponents; it would be idle to say that the change which they achieved, inevitable and even desirable as it may have been, provided more efficient or more distinguished teachers than Oxford had before possessed. On the other hand, their adversaries, proclaiming the value of clerical fellowships, were confronted by the obvious fact that many clerical fellows did not share their enthusiasm or illustrate the advantage of the existing system.

Into this sea of conflict Wordsworth made an early plunge. He addressed a public letter to the Warden designate of Keble College, the Rev. E. S. Talbot,[1] entitled "Keble College and the present University Crisis,"[2] dated 4th December, 1869. In it he covered the whole ground of dispute. Were religious tests any longer to exist in the University? If the University were thrown open, should the Colleges maintain the exclusiveness

[1] Now Bishop of Winchester.
[2] Published by Parker & Co., Oxford, 1869.

of their present statutes? What, if the worst came to the worst, were Churchmen to do? The first question was answered by the Act of 1871, the second, after long controversy, by the statutes of the Commission of 1882. Meanwhile, Keble College had been designed, not only for the benefit of those who should study there, but that it might "react upon the rest of the University," being secured by deed of trust for the sole service of the Church of England.[1] The admission of the College to the privileges of the University as a "new foundation" was bitterly opposed, and even after it was sanctioned the unfledged institution was still pursued with animosity. The impending triumph of the academic Liberals would be marred by this standing reminder of the ancient ways, and the curious passion for uniformity which led that generation to abolish so many gracious and harmless peculiarities of Oxford life was offended by this conspicuous exception. On the other hand, the friends of the Church had high expectations not only of the practical usefulness of the College, but also of its value as a protest and perhaps as a refuge. In this spirit Wordsworth wrote to congratulate the Warden and to survey the scene. Keble College was starting with the principles with which the older Colleges had started; those—

"with which, it seems to me, a College should reasonably start—the maintenance of a life suitable to poor scholars, and the preservation and propagation of a distinct Christian faith."

So it had been with Brasenose:—

"It has always been in our power to appeal to the double character of our College, as a place for poor men to work in, and as a place for Christian men to become better Christians, better Churchmen, and generally more religious and devout."

[1] See Pusey's speech at the laying of the foundation stone in his *Life*, iv. 204.

But Oxford is now looking to Parliament, and expecting an answer to the question, "Is any religious profession to be any longer a necessary part of our institutions?" It is generally believed that tests imposed at degrees and upon taking University office will be removed, and Wordsworth welcomes this:—

"In Oxford we hate the sound of the word 'Tests'; we hate the insincerity which has followed them, and the slur that has been cast on official professions of faith."

But the case is different with the Colleges, where association is so much closer. Their inward bond of union is being threatened—

"by the widespread jealousy of dogma, and the tendency all over Europe to secularise and destroy all foundations that stand up above the common level."

Not Nonconformist hostility to the National Church, but a wider and less palpable movement is the danger:—

"'Let us get rid of all our prejudices, and try if we cannot make the civilisation of the world sufficient for universal happiness.' It is a grand thought, I own; and it is being put in practice on a grand scale in Germany. Are we ready to make Oxford the theatre for a like spectacle?"

If we do so, Oxford will inevitably become less religious than it is.

"How," he asks, "will it be possible, in fairness, to reject any man as a teacher, whatever his opinions, if only he is competent to teach?"

There will be inward strife, College tutors striving to win adherents to their own theories; or else the teachers will be mere specialists, caring only for their own studies; or again, in the interests of peace, they will "confine themselves to inculcating an undogmatic morality." But dogma is necessary for education:—

"the distinctively Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body, resting upon the resurrection of Christ, is the only

foundation for a morality that is to be really successful and reproductive. . . . For the sake of such a doctrine, and for the power it gives us of kindling life in others, we are ready to sacrifice present communion with much that is attractive and beautiful in itself. It is for this that we wish to retain our Colleges, not from an envious or sectarian spirit. And for the sake of this it is that I congratulate you, as heartily as I do, on being called to inaugurate an institution that is to be a nursery of the Christian life."

Without a definite principle of association, the Colleges had better go.

"If we are set merely to teach every one his particular study, why should we live together at all? Of what use, in such a case, is the College system? It becomes, you will agree, an anomaly, without a rational cause for existence. We shall have hardly any other motive for living together than that of being paid by a common Bursar."

He is willing to make large sacrifices to maintain his ideal. Let the Colleges surrender great part of their income to the secular University, and let them survive under such a government as that of the great public schools, with a council chiefly composed of their own most distinguished former members. There will be a corporate spirit and an intelligible principle. Yet he has little hope that such a scheme will be accepted. If the "so-called act of justice" is to be done, they must submit. "For you, however, my dear Talbot, there will be this melancholy consolation: while we are lying mutilated and spiritless, you will be rising." As the monasteries were the refuge of the dark ages, so such foundations as Keble must be now.

"The barbarism we have to contend against is the barbarism of civilisation. It is gradually but surely rising round us, and we must strengthen our towers and trim our lamps if we are to give any light above the flood."

In this tone of despondency he concludes, a tone which, in those days of Positivism and other forgotten aggressions, was that of Pusey and of Liddon. Liddon maintained it to the end of his Oxford career, as in the famous sermon of 1882, when he bade the faithful abandon Oxford for Zanzibar. Wordsworth, employed in the practical work of the University, was to learn hope from experience. In later controversy his note was not so plaintive. It is not probable that this published letter attracted much attention. Certainly its proposals would not be welcome to the champions of the College system as it was then, and still is; he had obviously ignored some of its advantages and stated others in brighter colours than they actually wore. But for its author it had an important result; it brought him into contact with Dr. Liddon, and so gave him his first opening for University work.

Liddon and he were strangers when he sent the great preacher a copy of the letter and received an approving reply. Six months later, on the 11th June, 1870, Liddon was elected to the Ireland Professorship. He had just become Canon of St. Paul's, and he wished to make that ill-endowed chair as serviceable as possible to the School of Theology which had lately been founded, largely through the influence of his master, Dr. Pusey. Pusey, indeed, was at first adverse to his going to London—

"on the ground that I should be taken away from Oxford, and ought to remain to work the Theological School and prevent its getting into the hands of the Rationalists. He became very pathetic and emphatic." [1]

What Liddon could not himself do, he entrusted to Wordsworth, as to one who was not only a competent scholar, but had just shown by his published letter that he

[1] Liddon's *Life* p. 120.

favoured the maintenance of clerical teaching in Oxford as a safeguard of orthodoxy. On the 18th June, 1870, a week after Liddon's election to the Professorship, Wordsworth accepted his offer of the post of his "Assistant Lecturer." Liddon was generous in his confidence, making no conditions save that the lectures were to be on subjects appointed for the School. Once or twice he suggested topics, and often he expressed his gratitude for Wordsworth's aid. The lectures at first were given thrice a week; before long Liddon, knowing the extent of Wordsworth's labours, insisted that they should only be given twice. They began in the Michaelmas term of 1870, and continued, except for the two years (1876–78) in which Wordsworth acted as deputy-professor for J. B. Mozley,[1] till Liddon's resignation of the chair in October, 1882.[2] The School was as yet somewhat rudimentary, the subjects of examination fewer, and the treatment perhaps more homiletical than it is at present. Certainly no lecturer to-day could expect an audience to spend a year on one of the shorter Epistles of St. Paul. Beside the lectures, Wordsworth in his later tenure of the office held small evening classes for discussion at his own house, the last two being on the Canon of the New Testament in 1881, and on Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament in 1882. These must have been among the earliest experiments in the German method of the "Seminar" to be made in Oxford.

As a guide to those who followed his lectures he printed

[1] For these two years the assistant lecturership to the Ireland Professor was held by Mr. Charles Gore of Trinity, now Bishop of Oxford.

[2] Wordsworth's subjects were Ephesians (twice), Colossians, Philippians, 1 Corinthians, St. Mark, St. John. He also lectured on the History of the Kings of Israel and Judah, the English Text of Jeremiah, the Life and Epistles of St. Paul, Some Difficulties of the Gospel History, the Life and Ministry of our Lord. Each of these courses lasted for a year. He drew largely on the patristic commentators, such as Jerome and Theodoret.

in 1876 *Some Elements of Gospel Harmony*, a tract of fifty-six pages which he never published. Dr. Sanday thus notices it [1]:—

"It would be wrong to attach too much importance to this pamphlet, which does not profess to be more than a collection of notes. And yet it is (to the best of my belief) the only direct treatment by him that we have of the central question of the Gospels; and there is some significance both in what it contains and in what it does not contain. The strong point about it is the scholarly presentment of external data; the most notable omission is that of any attempt at internal critical analysis. In regard to the origin of the Gospels the writer's mind appears to be in a state of suspense; the authority that he seems most inclined to follow is Bishop Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*—one of the least satisfactory of its author's works, and calling for criticism all the more because it is so full of ingenuities. Throughout his life Wordsworth appears to have maintained a considerable reserve on the deeper questions of criticism; he was naturally conservative, and yet he moved with the times in a restrained and sober way."

Gospel study has so changed since 1876 that it will suffice to say that the *Elements* are a full and accurate discussion of the principal dates in the Gospels, and of the designs of the four Gospels as revealed by their own statements, as discovered by comparison of contents, and as recorded by tradition. The author subjected his work to careful revision, and began to print a new edition, taking cognisance of the literature down to 1879. This, however, was never completed, and there is no evidence to show whether he meant to publish it in this more perfect form.

The first years of his work for Liddon mark the climax of Wordsworth's activity. He was taking his full share of the Moderations work, Honour and Pass, in his College;

[1] *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. v., *ut supra*.

he was giving advanced lectures on Latin subjects, and laboriously preparing an important classical book; he was, for a while, giving the whole theological teaching in Brasenose, for the College did not enter into a combined scheme till 1872. He was also busy, as we shall to some extent see, in other ways. It is no wonder that the burden of his friends' letters at this time is the danger of overwork. In this anxiety Liddon shared, but though they quickly became intimate, walking together and constantly exchanging views, his warnings had as little effect as those of others. Yet to Liddon, Wordsworth became deeply attached; the smallest scraps of his writing, invitations to a lunch or a walk, have been treasured. Dr. King, the late Bishop of Lincoln, is the only other correspondent of Wordsworth to whom he has shown the same honour. And when Liddon resigned his professorship he made unavailing efforts to secure the office for his assistant.

Liddon's payment for his services was a welcome addition to Wordsworth's income, but though Brasenose paid its tutors better than most Colleges,[1] it did not seem as yet that he could marry. However, in the summer of 1870 the problem was solved. The two fathers agreed to make up the amount of the fellowship that would be forfeited, and the College was glad to retain the services of the tutor. The marriage took place at Wytham Church on Innocents' Day, 28th December, 1870. Miss Elizabeth Wordsworth says of the bride:—

"We gained in her one of the most charming and affectionate of sisters-in-law. She brought to him just the qualities which he wanted in a wife. It was like 'the setting of perfect music unto noble words' of which Tennyson speaks, and our whole family, his Oxford pupils, and later the whole diocese

[1] See *Replies to Circulars of Oxford University Commissioners*, 1881, Appendix, p. 97.

of Salisbury, had reason to bless the day which made them man and wife." [1]

The husband, as he was about the same time, has been described [2] thus :—

"In person Wordsworth was thin and spare, with a very pale complexion, and he had a curious habit of often appearing abstracted and half asleep, when in reality his attention was actively concentrated on the subject in hand, as his remarks would show. For pupils and friends of more ordinary mould than himself, 'Jacky' Wordsworth was full of surprises. At a Welsh reading party, in the midst of a conversation out a-walk, he would suddenly leap a stone wall—

'Apollo
Mortales medio aspectus sermone reliquit.'

Or if a pupil who had just got through Honour Moderations asked him what study he might best take up for a livelihood after his degree, Wordsworth, after a pause, would suggest Egyptian hieroglyphics. Like a true scholar he would assume that his pupils also had a genuine interest in study. . . ."

The writers go on to describe his wife :—

"His partner and helpmeet throughout his Oxford life was that most amiable, bright, and sympathetic of ladies, Susan, the only daughter of 'Bodley Coxe.' The shyest freshman felt at home in her presence; the fourth year man, now a hardened misogynist, felt misgivings when she talked with him, and the faces of her College friends, in later life, would light up with enthusiasm at her name."

The marriage was, indeed, a remarkable union of mutually helpful gifts and characteristics. Evidence much fuller than can be printed in these pages has been furnished of the extraordinary and lasting influence exercised by the Wordsworths upon Brasenose men

[1] *Glimpses of the Past*, p. 127. There is a description of young Mrs. Wordsworth in Chap. V. of that book.

[2] By C. B. H. and F. M., Salisbury *Diocesan Gazette*, 1911, p. 188.

when they had, after a year spent with the Coxes in Beaumont Street, taken up their home at 1, Keble Terrace. The husband's quaintness in manner and language was itself an attraction, and though it was not in the least a pose he must have been encouraged in his unconventionality by the knowledge that it helped to win the heart of his pupils. The attempt that is made here to describe this lighter side of his life, though it is illustrated only by the memories of Brasenose men, is coloured by my own reminiscences of his first years at Salisbury, when he and his wife were still what they had been at Oxford and when, among some of the younger clergy, they still exercised their Oxford charm. One of his most striking qualities was a capacity for silence, even (or perhaps especially) when speech would have been helpful. His wife has been known to complain that he would rather read Bradshaw upside-down than talk to her. In such a difficulty she was at her best. She would not only fill the void by her own bright conversation, but would effectually waken him. This, which was part of the entertainment expected in Keble Terrace, has often saved the situation at parochial and even diocesan meetings which were in danger of failure through the muteness of the Bishop.

But he was most impressive through the high demands he made upon all who came under his influence. He assumed that they had ability and the will to use it, and he would take for granted, without evidence and sometimes against all probability, that they had some such knowledge and interest as his own. I once heard him gravely advising a little workhouse boy, who had been set to weed his garden at Salisbury, to keep up his Latin, for it would be useful to him in regard to the scientific names of plants. A similar, if less heroic, assumption was habitually made in his advice to Brasenose men.

JOHN WORDSWORTH AS PROCTOR
(1874).

This overrating of their powers, and also of their strength of will, was doubtless sometimes amusing and sometimes irritating. But if his geese were apt to be swans, it is certain that this expectation of great things from men was not without effect. Never, at Oxford or in later life, would he suggest, or even sanction, the idea that comfortable acquiescence in ignorance or ineffectiveness was a pardonable thing. Yet with this high standard there went a wide, sometimes a curiously wide, tolerance. In a good sense, he was a man of the world, and very patient with the sallies of high-spirited youth. As Proctor, in 1875, he not merely attained the common and qualified success that the undergraduate world did not dislike him; there is evidence that he was actually popular. He took, indeed, an unfeigned personal interest in those with whom he had to do, and though the manners of his day were far from the unrestrained familiarity of modern Oxford, he took a step towards less formal relations by addressing his pupils by their surname only. This was new in Brasenose, as in the Colleges in general, and at first provoked some resentment. Wordsworth had learnt the use at New College, where the combination in a small society of graduate and undergraduate fellows, which lingered into his time, had made it natural. The general result of this treatment of his men was that without any devices for the gaining of influence he succeeded in gaining it, aided by the special gifts of his wife; and numbers who would have resented the suggestion that the discipline lauded in his letter to the Warden of Keble was being exercised on themselves did in fact unconsciously submit to it. It was a frequent event that young men, who were passing through Oxford without any definite plan for the future, came to regard the ministry of the Church as their proper sphere.

The evidence for his success may begin with a

statement whose genial exaggeration is so obvious that it cannot offend :—

"In the seventies Brasenose was a huge practical joke, and we all enjoyed ourselves amazingly. But all but John Wordsworth and those whom he influenced were frankly pagans, save for the remembrance of public school memories of better things."

Another writes more specifically, with reference to the hospitality which was known among Brasenose men as "Crumpets and Corinthians" :—

"There was no one on the College staff whom the men respected more, not merely for his great intellectual gifts, but for his unbounded kindness and the high standard of life which he set before us. His house in Keble Terrace was in the truest sense a home to any B.N.C. man who cared to come there. The present writer cannot exaggerate the help and happiness of those Sunday evenings. Sometimes heroic efforts were made to begin with some Greek Testament reading in the dining-room, but we soon moved upstairs where Mrs. Wordsworth was ready to give us tea and coffee and the fullest share of that wonderful personal charm and sympathy which were so peculiarly her own. There one often met men and women of mark and interest, and John Wordsworth never failed to introduce us as if we ignoramuses were people well worth knowing. I think this was one of his many wonderful characteristics that, being so great himself, he always seemed to treat you as if you were his intellectual equal. This had its embarrassing side, as when he turned to you and said, 'Of course you have read so and so,' mentioning some obscure and learned ancient writer, of whom probably you had never heard, and seemed quite surprised that you were not familiar with him. Another mark was his great generosity. He spared neither trouble nor money to help those who, he thought, needed help. The present writer owes his first visit to the Lakes to his generosity, being taken with him one Long Vacation as his guest; a visit the memory of which, though nearly forty years old, is still fresh."

The fullest and most idyllic account of the Wordsworths has come from a later pupil, Archdeacon Bodington. It is curious to note in it how the love of music, which had been strong when his courtship took in part the form of a devotion to Beethoven, seems to have disappeared; and it is clear that the harshness, doubtless due to anxiety, of which a friend had complained during the same period,[1] has also vanished.

"The two things that stand out in my memory are first a kind of affectionate domesticity, of truly Wordsworthian quality, so that he seemed to show the same sort of interest in your life that your mother would; desiring your comfort and happiness in little ways almost equally (so it really seemed) with your welfare in big things, and consequently giving you advice about your meals and all your living arrangements as if he wanted you (and I am sure he did) to make a bit of real home about you in College, because he thought you would be happier and that it was a good thing for your character. It was really just like his well-known interest in after years in the engagements and marriages of his friends and clergy. It was founded on his own intense love of simple, elemental human nature and life, which I suppose he derived from his ancestry and the influence of his mother and of his intensely happy marriage.

"Then, secondly, his insight was striking—optimistic but realistic. He seemed to see all the possible tragedy of life, and equally its possibilities of success. In chapel he impressed me, and I think all of us in greater or less degree, intensely. It was his reality. With others, forms might be formal; never so with him. That was why Evangelical and High Church folk equally believed in him, if they had any reality in themselves. I remember Canon Christopher's respect and confidence in, and affection for, him, expressed when I first went to see him. And I am sure that the typical Brasenose undergraduate of those days in his heart had some such combination of feelings for him, however much he might

[1] See p. 65.

dread an arm-in-arm conversation with 'Jacky,' as we called him, round the quad. I remember Mrs. Wordsworth more than once telling us of his passing sleepless nights from anxiety and sorrow over some pupil who was doing wrong. Innocent and simple as in those days he seemed, without (at that time) the rather rugged Gothic humour which experience of life afterwards developed in him, he was always influencing us by his unworldliness and moral earnestness. He was good for our souls.

"The first time I saw Mrs. Wordsworth was on my first Sunday evening in Oxford. It was their practice to keep open house after 8 p.m. on Sundays for Brasenose men. I remember finding her entertaining a drawing room full of them. No one who ever saw her in those circumstances is likely to forget it. Her large dark eyes, sparkling with fun, wit, and intelligence, were the feature which expressed most fully the brilliance for which she was distinguished. She was as quick as lightning in perception, in mental and spiritual movement, in talk. She sat in the middle and fairly poured forth floods of brilliant talk, but also a great deal of knowledge too. Rarely, in the case of a new acquaintance, did she fail to seem to know him before he had said anything or done anything to make himself known. Soon her wondrous sympathy and kindness drew us out of our shell. I never heard her say an unkind word. Yet she did not spoil, but educate us, and meant to. She chaffed us all and each, dons included. We loved it, and it did us no end of good. No thought of arousing admiration or of self at all ever entered her head, although she was so sensitive and really, I think, desirous of the affection even of us, raw and self-centred as we often were. She poured out a mother's interest, if not a mother's love, upon us, without one touch of patronage, without one failure of tact. She, only less than her husband, had the domesticity I spoke of beautifully, if sometimes oddly, dove-tailed in with idealism. They expected us to have the same, and helped to give it us.

"On one of those Sunday nights, in the middle of a letter-game, a servant announced with a long and startled face, 'If you please'm, the kitchen boiler has burst.' But no one seemed surprised. Our host and hostess resolutely refused to be troubled, nor would they visit the scene of ruin, but

begged one of us to go and report. Every Friday evening also Mrs. Wordsworth was at home. I remember how Mr. Wordsworth, who was not musical, used occasionally from his chair and book to protest politely and affectionately against the very loud noise that he said she was making, though it might be an adagio. But another time it would be her turn against him when, seized with the desire to make the most of his opportunities, he would read us a sermon, say of Dr. Mozley, and she, feeling as usual to a nicety the pulse of the assembly, would after a time begin to fidget with her foot, until she could bear it no longer and cried, 'Oh! really, John, we have had enough.' Often Mr. Wordsworth's pupils would be invited to dine, and then there was her sketching-class for the more favoured few; really a lasting benefit through life. In all these and other unselfish ways Mr. and Mrs. Wordsworth did for us more than perhaps either we or they knew; it was indeed no small part of our Oxford education.

"I think we were more afraid of him in those days than we were ever afterwards as clergy in his diocese. While deep in books and MSS., it was through his wife chiefly that he best understood young men's human nature. He had a quaint way of making remarks about one's clothes. 'Why do you wear such a brilliant waistcoat?' 'Before you touch that book, are your hands quite clean?' He put alarming questions to us, and seemed astonished and even grieved at our ignorance;[1] so when somebody translated γλωσσόκομον[2] 'with an impediment in his speech,' amid our roars of laughter, he quietly said, 'I thought every Christian man would have known better.'

"In those days his interest was much more of the bookish order than it was afterwards. He disliked, or seemed suspicious of, mathematics and science. Mrs. Wordsworth used to tell us that books were her rivals, and that she had to lead him past the bookshops as if they were public houses. I remember well this vein in her when seven additional tons of books arrived at Salisbury from his father's library at Lincoln.

[1] Cf. Archbishop Benson's *Life*, i. 222.
[2] St. John xii. 6.

"In my second term I had a severe illness. It was then I first knew the extraordinary tenderness of the man. Every morning after chapel he used to come round to see me. He would pray the most beautiful simple extempore prayer, with the tears running down his cheeks. I shall always cherish many of the strength-giving words of manly and childlike faith and trust and piety which he spoke. He would surely have made a great pastor of a country parish, which indeed was his and her chief wish at this time. His Wordsworthian qualities of quiet strength, faith, simplicity, piety, and tenderness would have made country people rest on him, and through him on God."

Another pupil [1] records a kindness, of special value when there was no Acland Home [2] for members of the University in sickness :—

"When I had been up about a year and a half I was taken seriously ill in the insanitary buildings in the back quad. When John Wordsworth [Mr. Kinder's tutor] became aware of this, which was not for several days, he sent a cab to the College and had me removed to his house at Keble Terrace, and also asked my mother to stay there. This kindness of keeping us there was continued for a fortnight, until I was convalescent. It enabled me to keep my term."

But instances of his kindness, ranging from help in serious emergencies to the loan of a few pounds to carry an improvident youth to his home at the end of term, might be multiplied *ad infinitum*.

Reading parties counted then for more than now, and Wordsworth made a practice of conducting one, usually to the Lake District, each Long Vacation. There was plenty of work, and plenty of entertainment. Among the accounts that have reached me is one of a party

[1] The Rev. E. H. Kinder, B.A., 1880, now Rector of Kirby Bedon, Norwich.

[2] The Acland Home is the Northgate House where the Librarian and, after his death, his widow, Mrs. Coxe, resided.

at Newlands, near Keswick, in 1874.[1] Of the afternoon rambles it is said :—

"Wordsworth was, it must be confessed, a somewhat aggravating companion on a long expedition. For the first hour or so he hung back, as a rule, rather behind the others, crawled slowly up-hill, complained that he didn't feel up to a long walk just then, and generally gave one the impression that he would never attain the goal. This mood lasted until the summit of the first considerable eminence was reached and other people were getting rather blown. Then on the edge of the descent into the next valley his whole demeanour changed. He suddenly seemed to wake up, ceased to sigh, and without waiting for anybody started at full speed down the slope. No matter what sort of going it might be, boulders, bracken, heather, screes, rocks, and streams, his long legs bounded over them, his arms waved wildly, and he never stopped his headlong course till he reached the bottom. Why he didn't break his neck we never could understand. It was, indeed, an article of faith with us that he had no feeling in his legs. Moreover, the absurdity of the proceeding was apt to deprive his companions of all power to control their own legs, and they ended, as often as not, in a headlong plunge into bracken or over a boulder, in helpless and inextinguishable laughter."

But he furnished an abundance of intentional, as well as unintentional, amusement, and took care that the hours of work were kept sacred, while his tact and good-humour easily overcame the minor difficulties that arise on such occasions.

He had a keen and quick sense of incongruity in things great and small, and his humour consisted in giving it a pointed expression, sometimes sardonic yet never cynical. "It is wise to speak to freshmen in their first term, before they have learned to know us and to

[1] From the Rev. E. H. Goddard, B.N.C., now Rector of Clyffe Pypard, Wilts.

despise us," was a characteristic utterance.[1] He was also to the end of his life addicted to plays upon language, often laborious enough, of the kind that was more practised and admired in the days of Mansel than it is now. It has to be confessed that his unconscious quaintness, of which numerous stories are current in Oxford, did not always add to his impressiveness. Still, these lighter qualities reinforced the impression made by his solid gifts, and did nothing to weaken the expectation, current among his friends and pupils from an early date, that he would rise to high office in the Church.

A College tutor without a fellowship was rare in the Oxford of 1870. There were not more than a dozen men who were giving their whole time to College, as opposed to University, work on such terms. The position was regarded as abnormal, and had the obvious inconvenience that the holder had no voice in College business, and that his suggestions might be rejected by the vote of non-resident Fellows, or Fellows taking no part in the work of the College. But though John Wordsworth felt this disability he was thoroughly loyal to Brasenose, declining more than one offer made to him of work elsewhere ;[2] and it is clear that he was not made unpleasantly conscious of his dependent position. There were instances where tutors without fellowships were spoken of as " College servants." At Brasenose men were more gracious.

Though Wordsworth had his full share of Oxford work, he had also his share in Church interests outside. In 1870 his father made him an examining chaplain,

[1] A reminiscence of Dr. H. S. Holland, *Commonwealth*, 1911, p. 271.

[2] Soon after his marriage he was offered a tutorship at Keble ; he was also offered the headship of a projected " College Hall," to be founded on Church lines at Manchester in connection with Owens College. There is more than one indication that his father wished to see him settled in a Lincolnshire parish.

a duty which he shared with Benson, and collated him to the prebend of Leighton Ecclesia in Lincoln Cathedral. John Wordsworth naturally became touched with the same enthusiasm as his brother prebendary Benson, and took his honorary duties at Lincoln very seriously. At Oxford also he did his best for the Church, as he understood its interests. He strove to draw together men of like mind, and he has preserved from this date a "list of junior fellows who care for religious and collegiate education, and who ought to be made to realize the conditions under which it is possible." The list is remarkable for some names that it contains, and some that it omits; and a certain change in the connotation of words is shown by the use of "clerically minded" as a laudatory term.

But if alliances were hearty, opposition was keen and became necessarily personal. Among the leaders of thought that regarded itself as advanced was Mr. Walter Pater of Brasenose, who printed certain philosophical remarks in the first edition of his chief work which excited Wordsworth to reproof. He wrote as follows [1]:—

"You will, I think, hardly be surprised at my writing to you in reference to a subject which has been much in my thoughts of late. I mean your book of studies in the History of the Renaissance. No one can admire more than I do the beauty of style and the felicity of thought by which it is distinguished, but I must add that no one can be more grieved than I am at the conclusions at which you represent yourself as having arrived. I owe so much to you in times past, and have so much to thank you for as a colleague more recently, that I am very much pained in making this avowal. But after a perusal of the book I cannot disguise from myself that the concluding pages adequately sum up the philosophy of the whole; and that that philosophy is an assertion, that no fixed principles either of religion or morality can be regarded as certain, that the only thing worth living for is momentary

[1] 17th March, 1873.

enjoyment [of course of a high and subtle kind] and that probably or certainly the soul dissolves at death into elements which are destined never to reunite. I believe you will acknowledge that this is a fair statement of your position. If it is not, I shall be only too happy to be disabused of my misconceptions. I am aware that the concluding pages are, with small exceptions, taken from a review of Morris's poems published in 1868 in the *Westminster Review*. But that article was anonymous, whereas this appears under your own name as a Fellow of Brasenose and as the mature result of your studies in an important period of history. If you had not reprinted it with your name no one would, I presume, have had a right to remonstrate with you on the subject, but now the case appears to be different; and I should be faithless to myself and to the beliefs which I hold, if in the position in which I find myself as tutor next in standing to yourself I were to let your book pass without a word. My object in writing is not to attempt argument on these conclusions, nor simply to let you know the pain they have caused me and I know also many others. Could you indeed have known the dangers into which you were likely to lead minds weaker than your own, you would, I believe, have paused. Could you have known the grief your words would be to many of your Oxford contemporaries you might even have found no ignoble pleasure in refraining from uttering them. But you may have already weighed these considerations and have set them aside, and when they are pressed upon you you may take your stand on your right under the University Tests Act to teach and publish whatever you please. I must then, however unwillingly, accept the same ground. The difference of opinion which you must be well aware has for some time existed between us must, I fear, become public and avowed, and it may be my duty to oppose you, I hope always within the limits of courtesy and moderation, yet openly and without reserve. It is a painful result to arrive at, but one which I hope you will not resent as unfair. At any rate, before it goes any further, I think it right to let you know my feeling and to ask if you have any reply to make to my letter. On one practical point perhaps you will allow me to ask a favour. Would you object to give up to myself or to the other tutors (if they

will take it) your share in the Divinity Examination in Collections? This is probably the last time in which the old system will be in force, and it would be, I confess, a relief to my mind if you would consent to do so."

It must be added that in his next edition Pater removed much that had offended his colleague.

If Oxford was a place of warfare, which might be illustrated by other incidents than this, John Wordsworth was also drawn into the wider controversies of the Continent. They had been among the chief interests of his father, who was always ready, as his *Miscellanies* show, to protest against Roman peculiarities of belief and observance. Many Englishmen who had not been so ready as Dr. Christopher Wordsworth to proclaim their repugnance were stimulated by the Vatican Council to open hostility. Liddon, for instance, became an active sympathiser with the Old Catholic movement, for which its English friends anticipated a numerical importance that it has failed to attain. The Old Catholics and their allies were to be one of John Wordsworth's interests throughout his life. He first came in contact with them during a prolonged journey through Southern Germany and Austria in the Long Vacation of 1871. As yet it seemed doubtful whether the mass of the German Catholics would submit to Rome, as their Bishops (however unwillingly) had done, or would for conscience' sake share the excommunication of Döllinger, who had been excluded from his Church four months before Wordsworth wrote, in August, that he was trying to discover—

"what is going on in the minds of the leaders of thought among German Catholics. They are, in fact, our brethren by race and temperament, though in many circumstances of education and present temper different from us. A national Catholic Church in Germany in communion with the English Church, if such a vision were possible, might by its moral and

intellectual strength almost dictate terms for the reunion of Christendom. Probably it is impossible, but the vaguest chance of it is something to make the heart leap; and it is a great thing to think that the first Diocesan Synod held in England for nearly two hundred years has done its part towards such an end by empowering the Bishop to address a letter expressing sympathy with the movement."

The journey, made in company with Mr. Coxe, who had access to every library, was a valuable part of Wordsworth's education as a palaeographer. But Mr. Coxe taught other lessons than the dating of manuscripts. He shared the Bishop of Lincoln's prejudice against Rome, as did Benson,[1] and these three influences encouraged John Wordsworth's repugnance, and his sympathy with all who, from disinterested motives, detached themselves from that communion. Such separation awakened in him an active theoretical interest in the constitution of the Christian society as well as in the problems of ecclesiastical government and the possibilities of reunion. Just before this, in 1870, extraordinary enthusiasm had been excited among those who shared the churchmanship of the Wordsworths by the visit to England of the Greek Archbishop of Syra and Tenos with his suite. It was a new thing that an Oriental prelate should show his respect for the Church of England by attending in his pontifical attire at our services and taking part in the consecration of one of our Bishops. He was made an honorary D.D. of Oxford, and nowhere was he welcomed more heartily than at Riseholme, where he singled out John Wordsworth as the "deep thinker." And in the following year an experiment, from which

[1] One of Benson's letters has the characteristic heading :—

9th December, 1869.
Fest. Immac. Concept. III
ἐν τοῖς στοιχείοις and
1800 years old.

great things were expected, was made by the Bishop of Lincoln. Since 1683, when a diocesan synod, in the strict sense, had assembled in the diocese of St. Asaph, no gathering of the whole clergy of an English diocese under the presidence of its Bishop had been held till the synod of Lincoln, which met on the 20th September, 1871. Its principles and procedure were described at length by John Wordsworth in a letter to the *Times* of the 6th October, under the signature "Synodicus." More than once the Bishop of Salisbury was to follow the example of his father in the assembling of such synods.

In spite of their impressiveness such gatherings have disappointed the high hopes of 1871, when they seemed to offer the prospect of a government for the Church, sound ecclesiastically and constitutionally. But the English experiment bore a certain resemblance to the graver venture that was being made in Germany; and the assembly at Lincoln sent, through its president, a synodical letter of sympathy with the Old Catholics. It was natural that a party from Lincoln should take part in the first Old Catholic Conference, which assembled at Cologne in September, 1872. John Wordsworth had been visiting the English lakes in that summer in company with the Bensons. He was always taken for the senior of the party, and Benson "used to delight in addressing him as 'Bishop,' rather to the confusion of strangers." [1] Thence he travelled to accompany his friends to the Conference. With the Bishop of Lincoln and the members of his family there was, among others, Canon Meyrick, an able and attractive man who had been appointed at the same time as Benson prebendary of Lincoln and examining chaplain to the Bishop. Meyrick, in 1853, had been the chief founder of the Anglo-Continental Society, and was from that year to 1899 its honorary

[1] Mrs. Trebeck.

secretary. This little organisation had for its purpose to proclaim the orthodoxy of Anglicanism, to point out to members of the Roman Communion the errors of their system and to give such guidance and support as might be advisable to seceders who should maintain what to Anglicans seem right practices and beliefs. It must be confessed that it has had little influence, and that Meyrick's usefulness was impaired by the excess of zeal which he threw into the cause. But in 1872 it seemed that there was ample scope for the Society in fostering the new movement, and the Wordsworths shared in its activities. At Cologne John Wordsworth first made himself master of the German language.

"He was able to speak it with considerable accuracy," writes Mrs. Trebeck, "and this was the beginning of his lifelong interest in the Anglo-Continental Society. We made acquaintances with all the Old Catholic leaders. The Dean and Lady Augusta Stanley were with us and Mr. and Mrs. Edward Talbot. I remember my father saying, 'If only they [the Old Catholics] are as wise and zealous in building up as they are energetic in pulling down, they will do well.' John's powers of organisation were much developed on this occasion, as he had to make all the arrangements for the meetings and services." [1]

These foreign interests, it is well to bear in mind, were shared by such men as Liddon, who himself took part in the Bonn Conference of 1874. In fact, Liddon's letters to Wordsworth show that he regarded the years between the proclamation of Infallibility, which made approach to Rome inconceivable, and the troubles of the Public Worship Regulation Act, as the most satisfactory within his experience of the English Church. His mind did not change in regard to the Old Catholics till

[1] This can only mean those in which the English-speaking visitors took part.

he detected in them a certain declension from their original principles, and his approval of English effort on their behalf only ceased when it was extended to an Italian revolt with which he could not sympathise.

Meanwhile, Wordsworth's task at Oxford was lightened by his College's accession in 1872 to a combined scheme of theological lecturing. From the Michaelmas term of that year his College lectures were moderate in number.[1] His work for Liddon gave him sufficient opportunity for Biblical teaching, and his combined lectures were for the most part on historical subjects, in which he was keenly interested. Of his success as a teacher the best evidence is perhaps that fourteen of his pupils were placed in the second class in the Honour School of Theology. Two[2] attained to the first. One difficulty of the time was that of books for undergraduates. Wordsworth was the first to overcome it in Brasenose. One of his services, writes a pupil[3]—

"was the starting of an Undergraduates' Library, because the College Library at that time (1873) was not open to the junior members of the College. As the beginning of a theological library for those who were reading for the Final School, he got some of the fellows to lend standard works of reference, which were placed in his lecture-room, and proved to be a great help to the men. Personally, I owe much to this arrangement."

[1] Between 1872 and his resignation in 1883 he gave lectures (for the most part courses of three terms) on Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, Socrates, Justin, Irenaeus, Origen, *Contra Celsum*, the Doctrine of Grace with Select Treatises of St. Augustine, the Pastoral Epistles, the LXX of Exodus. Some of these courses were repeated. His classical lecturing for Honours was usually three hours a week, with tuition as well. B.N.C. had three members of its staff engaged in Moderations work, Honours and Pass.

[2] C. L. Dundas, B.A., 1869, afterwards Fellow of Jesus and now Archdeacon of Dorset; G. G. Monck, B.A., 1872, now Vicar of Stoke-sub-Hamdon, Somerset, and Rural Dean.

[3] Canon Clayton.

From what has been said of his interest in men, it will have been clear that he would not shrink from responsibility in giving advice to pupils or other friends, sometimes not younger than himself. The two following letters show this readiness to exercise authority, and display by anticipation what may be called an episcopal mind. It need not be assumed that Wordsworth's diagnosis of the case was complete or altogether accurate. Written to a young clergyman restless in his first curacy, when Wordsworth was himself little more than thirty years of age, they sufficiently explain themselves.

"It seems that you have a distinct call to stay at X for the present, if you can do so without knocking up. As to the last I don't quite know what to say. I should suppose it was a question rather mental than physical. . . . Can you throw aside your personal troubles and all but the most necessary thoughts about yourself, and just realise that you have to act as an instrument for a particular purpose for nine months or a year to come? I am glad, very glad, to have your full confidence, and would not for the world throw it back; but your letter just gives me the feeling that you are still too introspective, too scrupulous in searching into motives, open still in some degree to the danger of describing emotion for the sake of description rather than for practical good. The mind is like a piece of delicate clockwork, that a very little dust will disarrange. . . . In telling me what you did I believe you fulfilled the apostolic precept sufficiently, and I believe you are not in a sufficiently clear frame of mind to do more at present. Confession (strictly so called) would, I think, in your case be a strong medicine too much upsetting to your system. Yet, I frankly own, if you were living in Oxford I should get you to talk to King, who would, I believe, give you that sort of quieting mental tonic which you seem to want. But I would not distress myself further περὶ τὰ ὀπίσω, but rather seek to a deeper and clearer knowledge of God in the present. May He bring you to peace and rest, and help you to see your way clearly to serve Him best."

"I should, I confess, feel sorry if you were to leave your Vicar under two years, but if you find the work too distracting, or if you are not strong enough for it, or if you want to earn a larger income, you would, I suppose, be quite justified in leaving at the end of one, or as soon as he could get another curate, and you another position. But if the difficulty (if there is one) is only one that can be got over with patience, and at the sacrifice of tastes and habits not absolutely vital, there seems to be much to be said for staying. It must be good (I am sure it would have done myself good) to learn to understand the difficulties of quite simple people and to stretch one's self to their measure. Perhaps it is equally good to be denied such accessories of parochial work as you might have elsewhere. I must confess I am afraid sometimes of our thinking certain things necessary which are not necessary. University men (such as I may still consider you) seem to have a work to do in keeping up the cohesion between Churchmen of different schools. I do not know whether this has any point in the present case."

In 1874, while Wordsworth was serving as Proctor, an office in which his senior colleague, Mr. H. Salwey of Christ Church, remembers that he showed sound business capacity, there was held on the 9th October a *Collatio cum Wesleyanis*, at which the Bishop of Lincoln advanced considerations which were to guide his son's efforts thirty years later. The Bishop,[1] moved by the prevalence of Methodism in Lincolnshire, invited leaders of the Wesleyans to meet representative Churchmen in conference, to consider the possibility of reunion. The Conference was held on neutral ground, in the London house and under the presidency of one of his Quaker cousins, Mr. J. B. Braithwaite. John Wordsworth, as his father's chaplain, served as secretary; the representatives on the one side were Dr. Benson, Mr. F. Meyrick, and the Bishop himself; on the other, Dr. Moulton, Dr. Osborn,

[1] See his *Life*, Chap. VIII., where a very brief account is given.

Dr. Jobson, and Mr. W. Arthur. With these clergy sat Mr. J. G. Talbot, M.P., as a Churchman, and as lay Wesleyans, Mr. Alexander MacArthur, M.P., and Mr. T. Percival Bunting. The proceedings, carefully recorded by John Wordsworth, were not very satisfactory. The Bishop strove to keep to matters of principle; the other side was apt to wander off to the title of "Reverend," the use of which on the tombstone of a Wesleyan minister was then under litigation, and to the demand for the opening of Anglican pulpits. Discursive and inconclusive as the debate was, the Bishop did not believe that it had been held in vain; and the suggestions which he brought forward were such as always seemed feasible to his son. He advanced the precedents of Archbishop Leighton and Bishop Simon Patrick, consecrated to the episcopate, though their commission to the ministry was such as Methodist ministers might be regarded as holding, and of Bishop Bramhall, in conditionally ordaining ministers of the Commonwealth period, with a saving clause lest their dignity be wounded. In 1874 the Wesleyan leaders, satisfied with their own position, would make no movement. For them "Ordination Problems," to use the title of one of Bishop John Wordsworth's latest volumes, had no existence. For the Wordsworths they were a topic of unceasing interest.

Just at this time, on the 3rd August, 1874, the Public Worship Regulation Act became law. Strong Churchmen were incensed, and were anxious as to the measures which Archbishop Tait might take, now that he was armed with this new weapon. No evidence that the Wordsworths had taken part in the counsels of those who opposed the measure has come into my hands,[1] but the Bishop of Lincoln was invited to a meeting of leading Churchmen

[1] For his public utterances see Chap. VIII. of the Bishop of Lincoln's *Life*.

summoned for the 15th October at Dr. Bright's lodging in Christ Church. He could not attend, and his son wrote on his behalf: [1]

"My father thinks the situation very critical. He believes the only way to avert a probable schism is to work upon the Archbishop of Canterbury by a deputation from important men of all sections of the High Church party, and to obtain from him in writing some assurance of what he will do or not do. He represents the Archbishop as keeping down the other Bishops, or rather they have no strength to stand against him, and as having (as no doubt he has) great weight in Parliament. But he thinks he is quite alive to public opinion if brought directly to bear on himself. . . . This really seems a time when Churchmen in the University are called upon to have a policy, and if possible one of mediation."

From this time onward John Wordsworth took his side in public with Pusey and Liddon, joining in the protest against the prosecutions under the recent Act, and being asked for counsel on critical matters, such as the troubles between the Bishop and the Church Missionary Society in Ceylon. In principle he agreed with the Bishop, but his advice was in favour of moderation in language and action. But if he acted with them, we must not assume a perfect inward agreement. It was his conservative tendency that ranged him on their side, and perhaps the public, and even he himself, thought the unison more perfect than it was.

"I don't think," writes Dr. Jayne, Bishop of Chester, who was then a tutor of Keble, "that John Wordsworth was ever much tinged with Tractarianism proper. He went, I should think, on his scholarly (classical and theological) way with a certain aloofness, though intimate with the Keble group."

A Brasenose man, no longer a member of the English Church, who was a pupil of Wordsworth about 1870,

[1] To the Warden of Keble, from Riseholme, 22nd September, 1874.

agrees with Bishop Jayne in regard to his theological position. He contrasts the "old-fashioned Anglicans" of that day, among whom he ranks Wordsworth, with the more conspicuous groups at either extreme of Churchmanship.

"John Wordsworth," he says, "stood out from the rest [of the tutors of Brasenose] as the students' *friend*, exemplifying in his person the purest type of the orthodox, old-fashioned Anglican Churchman, never parading religion or talking about it, but preaching it everywhere by his own modest actions and suggesting it as the source of all his virtues. The old-fashioned Anglicans made much less outward fuss [than the rival schools] and carefully avoided singularities. Their endeavour tended towards taking the Prayer-book as it stood, turning the collects and psalms and daily lessons in it into a reality, and conforming their lives to a consistent, if unobtrusive, rectitude and kindliness of manner. Openly to discuss or even mention religion would have been an impertinence. . . . A young man at Oxford, without any very fixed principles or religious ideals, was practically secure the moment a kind Providence drew him within the sphere of the Wordsworths' home. At the same time there is nothing extraordinary to record, nothing very tangible to lay hold of as distinctive. The method was so simple, and the life so uneventful; successful perhaps because so free from eccentricity or excitement. Religion was behind the scenes; never obtruded or discussed, as it was in Evangelical or Ritualistic circles; it was, however, powerfully suggested in the very sweetness and light of the whole atmosphere and by the gentle lives of its professors."

The writer goes on to say that the first rift between himself and the tutor was caused by his silence in regard to his making a first confession to Dr. King at Christ Church.

"Was it not indeed," he asks, "a logical result of a three years' friendship, spent in such close alliance with a spirit

so good, so beautiful and so true as theirs? And yet reserve as to a confession to Dr. King seemed imperative in view of their attitude at that time on this most important question." [1]

It may be only a coincidence, but this active participation in the conflicts of Oxford, whether or no it were in complete interior sympathy with the leaders on the Church's side, was accompanied by a cessation of Wordsworth's active intercourse with his Cambridge friends. Hitherto it had seemed his mission to interpret them to Oxford; henceforth they apparently sink below his horizon, with the exception of Benson, who was now settled at Lincoln. On Christmas Eve, 1872, he had written to the Warden of Keble, rejoicing in the coming of "our new Chancellor" to Lincoln.

"It will be a most excellent thing for my father to have him on the spot; and though he gives up a much larger income I think in the end it will be a good step for him. It is a great thing to stop after twenty years of incessant schoolmastering toil with such a very fresh spirit and in the midst of success; and he has, you know, a great natural devotion to Cathedral work and particularly to work at Lincoln, so that I think he

[1] This gentleman tells how his tutor hurried from Scotland to Scarborough to arrest, if possible, his entrance into the Roman Church. This was some years after he had taken his degree. "Again, nothing was directly said, though much was suggested. The fact of the long journey undertaken at so much cost and trouble, the pathetic sadness, making quite apparent that affection was being strained, if not broken outright, the very abstention from reproach or discussion, were the more appealing. Indeed, all this did more than many words to make the meeting a powerful protest and a difficult argument to contradict. . . . Passing in our walk the open door of the old church which crowns the hill near the castle above the harbour, Mr. Wordsworth and his errant disciple entered, as if led by a common instinct, and then, without controversy or blame, the master said, 'Let us kneel down together for the last time and pray for guidance, that neither of us may ever do aught but the Divine will or ever believe a lie.' . . . No more was said, and soon after we parted for very different spheres of real work." I wish I had space for more of these reminiscences of an acute and sympathetic observer.

will have a great field before him. Of course one looks to all sorts of future possibilities."

It was John Wordsworth who was charged, in 1876, to convey to Benson the offer of the bishopric of Calcutta, as is recorded in the Archbishop's *Life*.[1]

In 1876 and 1877 he held the almost honorary post of Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint. He had stood for the office but had withdrawn his candidature two years before, deeming that it was incompatible with the labours of the proctorship. This news had drawn a remonstrance and a characteristic disquisition from Dr. Pusey, who addressed Wordsworth through Liddon. The letter was evidently written in haste.

"Feb. 26, 1874.

"MY DEAREST L.,

"I should be very glad to hear of Wordsworth's Proctorate but for what you say about his feelings about the Grinfield Lectureship.

"The LXX Lectureship ought to bear on the N.T. It was to form the language of the LXX that God so combined the far-seeing ambition of Alexander, which saw the value of the site of Alexandria, and the rebellion of the Jews in going down to Egypt, and so wonderfully unites the accuracy of the Greek language and the depth of the Hebrew to form the language of His last revelation of Himself. It is for this [? relation] of the language of the LXX to the Greek of the N.T. that the study of the LXX is mainly valuable. Now and then the LXX gives valuable testimony as to the meaning of a Hebrew word in their times, as in the rendering of παρθένος in Isaiah or διαφθορά in Ps. xvi. But after all this is only an *argumentum ad hominem*, and lies on the surface. In the main we know more Hebrew than the LXX. Nor are the LXX mostly so good as Aquila or Symmachus, except where anti-doctrinal prejudices influence these last. I think, then, that Wordsworth's eminent Greek scholarship would be of far more avail than any Hebrew. Hebrew scholarship mostly avails to account

[1] Vol. I., 398.

for the LXX rendering and very often to explain the source of their mistakes. The school which would correct the Hebrew text by aid of the LXX was a mistaken one and has passed away, though I should not be surprised if it were revived by those who would innovate in everything. *Cui bono* to comment on the blunders of [1] ? I earnestly hope that W. will not resign his candidature. I heard the V.C. say . . . mentioning names which I must not repeat. Do urge him not to resign his candidature. It might put us in a great strait.

"Your very affectionate
"E. B. PUSEY."

As Grinfield lecturer Wordsworth issued in June, 1877, a four-paged *List of Selected Books to illustrate the Alexandrian Dialect*, as a guide to his audience. It is noteworthy in that half the volumes included are collections of inscriptions or of papyri. In his attention to the latter he anticipated a fruitful line of modern research.

A more important undertaking was that of acting as deputy to the Regius Professor of Divinity, Dr. J. B. Mozley, who fell into ill-health in the autumn of 1875, and till his death on the 4th January, 1878, was unable to resume his lectures. Mozley had returned to Oxford as Regius Professor in 1871. It does not appear how soon Wordsworth attached himself to him, but it was he who first conceived the idea of the famous graduate class.[2]

"In the autumn of 1873," Wordsworth writes, "Dr. Mozley came to meet a party at dinner in my rooms in College —invited for the purpose—and after dinner we asked him to give us some lectures in the ensuing term. This he did on Mondays at 4, giving six or seven in the Lent term 1874,

[1] A blank in the letter.
[2] The list of members is in *The Letters of J. B. Mozley*, p. 343.

and this same number in Michaelmas term 1874, and Lent term 1875. The two Summer terms of 1874 and 1875 were similarly occupied with essays contributed by members of the class in turn. Amongst others Bishop Mylne's article on Theodore of Mopsuestia, published in the first volume of the *Church Quarterly Review*, was read on two Mondays. Bishop Copleston, I believe, and Messrs. S. J. Fremantle, Holland, and myself also read, as well as others." [1]

When Mozley's health broke down, it was natural that he should turn to Wordsworth for assistance. "James testifies to the fixity of purpose in Mr. Wordsworth; inexorable in keeping up the meetings through all the distractions of this term," runs a family letter cited by Miss Mozley.[2] At first the task assigned was the modest one of reading lectures composed by the Professor. But as the gravity of his case became more clear it was seen that a deputy must be appointed, and Wordsworth pressed Liddon to use his influence with Mozley for the nomination of Edwin Palmer, his successful rival in the contest for the professorship of Latin. Mozley, however, preferred Wordsworth, who delivered three courses in this new capacity, surrendering, as has been said, his similar work for Liddon. At first he lectured for a term on a familiar topic, the ministry of our Lord after the death of John the Baptist. Then, as the disciple and representative of Mozley, he launched upon more adventurous courses, lecturing upon "The Being and Nature of God and the future life as revealed in natural religion," and "The idea and method of revelation, or truth, mercy, and peace, as manifested in the Kingdom of God." These two courses were to be the germ of Wordsworth's Bampton Lectures.

Mozley's selection of his deputy had been the strongest

[1] To Miss Mozley, 11th February, 1878.
[2] *Letters of J. B. Mozley*, p. 342.

testimony that distinguished man could bear to Wordsworth's fitness for the Regius Professorship. There were many in Oxford of the same opinion, and the post would have been thoroughly congenial to Wordsworth. But it was a time of bitterness. Wordsworth was an ally of Liddon, who was making England ring with his denunciation of the Turks. Wordsworth himself had recently used strong words in St. Mary's: "We see the sorrows of whole provinces of Europe and Asia, under Ottoman tyranny." [1] It was thought that the Minister, in his ecclesiastical and University appointments, was not uninfluenced by considerations of political friendship or hostility. Wordsworth was passed over, and continued his College work, to which Liddon again added his assistant lecturership. In the Memorial Sermon which he preached in Lincoln Cathedral on Palm Sunday, 1885, after the funeral of the Bishop, John Wordsworth mentions as the greatest personal disappointment of his father's life his failure to obtain the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge. The same words might have been spoken of the son.

Some interest attaches to the procedure of the last generation, and it seems worth while to give the letter in which Wordsworth informed Mr. Ince of Exeter College, whom Lord Beaconsfield had nominated, of the methods he had adopted.[2]

"I think it right to tell you the changes I introduced into the system of lecturing which was in vogue,[3] in case you may think it wise to continue them. They were principally three.

"1. Instead of giving the lectures six days a week for a fortnight or so, I gave them three days a week for a month,

[1] *University Sermons*, p. 35, preached 12th November, 1876.
[2] 8th May, 1878.
[3] The lectures were given in the Latin Chapel of the Cathedral.

and I have every reason to believe that this change suited the men's convenience as much as it did that of the lecturer.

"2. I introduced the custom of using a prayer (after the lecture) sometimes one of Bishop Pearson's, in Latin or English, sometimes one of Thomas Aquinas, sometimes one of Charles Marriott's. I believe that as so many of the men go to almost no other theological lectures before they are ordained, it is a great opportunity for impressing them, and so I used this and other means to make them feel like real candidates for ordination, and constantly addressed them as such.

"3. For the last year, when I was reading my own lectures, I gave a different course each term, thinking it bad for the men to suppose that the lecture was chiefly a formality to be gone through. My idea was to have a course which would take two years to deliver, and cover in a rough way the whole field of dogmatic theology, in the hope that some men at least would attend several courses. In this last I had some partial success.

"I know that this scheme would have taxed my own powers severely, and it might be too much for you if you are still in weak health."

In this same year, 1878, Wordsworth published a little volume of University Sermons,[1] seven in number. They had been preached at St. Mary's (with the exception of one which he had been unable to deliver there, and so had used in Lincoln Cathedral) in his turn as Select Preacher, an office which he held from 1875 to 1877.[2] The sermons are very practical, impressing such points as the power of innocence and the duty of maintaining it, the religious doubts of the time, the responsibility of Oxford tutors towards their pupils, and the importance of missionary work. It is remembered that on one occasion he was so regardless of custom as to insert the name of St. Stephen's House in the Bidding Prayer

[1] Oxford and London, Parkers. Preface dated 20th November, 1878.

[2] He was Whitehall Preacher, "much against the grain," in 1879, and Select Preacher at Oxford again 1888–90.

before his sermon. But we must return to his interest in missions when we come to the Bampton Lectures of 1881. The Sermons, except for a certain naïve ingenuity in deducing his moral, were such as Wordsworth delivered throughout his life; but in later days he would not have cited Petavius *De Angelis* as an authority to be accepted without criticism. Canon Clayton singles out two of the sermons, "The First Miracle and the First Temptation," and "The last sixteen verses of St. Mark," [1] as deserving more attention than they have received.

"There was," he says, "a clearness and vigour and an incisiveness about J. Wordsworth's sermons which was very welcome to the hearers. I can remember an excellent sermon of his on the death of Principal Cradock in Brasenose College Chapel which was very striking, for it showed how 'the old chief,' as we called him, corresponded with the account of 'the wisdom which is from above' in St. James iii. 17, 18."

With the same practical purpose he printed for his pupils, *Prayers for Use in College*, in 1879. This little pamphlet of eleven pages was replaced in 1883 by a fuller work, with the same name, containing not only a valuable collection of prayers, but also thoughtful counsel for the religious life of undergraduates.[2] Of this a second edition, with some new matter, was published in 1890,[3] in the hope "that it may be useful to some young men outside the Universities, as well as to those for whom it was first intended." Such manuals must have their day, but these sixty-four pages speak with an authority and a freshness that might have saved them from oblivion. They are still used and valued by some of the older generation.

[1] The traditional text is defended.

[2] Published by Parkers, Oxford.

[3] Parkers, Oxford: reprinted and published by Longmans, London, 1893.

CHAPTER V

BRASENOSE COLLEGE—THE LATIN VULGATE—BAMPTON LECTURES—OXFORD CONTROVERSIES

JOHN WORDSWORTH, after he had determined to abandon pure classics, did not at once decide on his future work. He still from time to time published articles on Latin or Anglo-Saxon inscriptions, and in his vacations made careful notes and drawings of objects of antiquity,[1] such as brasses and details of architecture. In 1876 he formed his first plan of historical theology. His *magnum opus* was to be a fully annotated edition of the great work of Origen, the *Contra Celsum*. It would have given ample scope for his varied erudition, and would have made a more general appeal than his technical labours upon the Latin Vulgate of the New Testament. The *Contra Celsum* was also one of the subjects on which he lectured for the School of Theology, and he had accumulated much material that would serve for the purpose of an edition. It does not appear why he forsook this task, nor is there any evidence that he actually began to compose his edition of the *Contra Celsum*.

We do not know what first led him to prefer the Latin

[1] He was capable of an ingenuity equal to his father's. An obscure and imperfect inscription at York ends, according to Hübner, *Arimanio* [*posuit*]. Wordsworth satisfied himself that the last letter was *v*, not *o*, and conjectured, *marmoreu*[*m posuit*], after Horace, *Carm.* iv. 1, 20, *te . . . ponet marmoream sub trabe citrea*. But this he did not publish.

Vulgate as the chief scholarly interest of his life. It may have occurred to himself as a fruitful study; it may have been suggested to him, perhaps by Westcott. The subject was in his mind in 1877, at first in the form of an edition of Jerome's text of the whole Latin Bible. On the 25th March, 1878, he took the definite step of offering to the Clarendon Press, through Professor Bartholomew Price, its secretary, an edition of the New Testament. As yet he had made no preparations, and did not even know what were the materials on which he would have to work. For in his next letter, after an encouraging reply from the Press, he says that he has his father's approval—he is writing from Riseholme, on Easter Monday, 1878—and will ask the advice of Westcott and of Rönsch;[1] he then continues: "I will look into Vercellone when I get back, and see what MSS. there are." He was already a competent palaeographer and a master of the Latin language; it is noteworthy that even as an undergraduate he had collected forms and idioms of decadent Latinity as well as those of the pre-classical period. But he needed, for his special purpose, not only to collect material, but to create his method of working. As yet the English Universities provided no such instruction. Our present difficulty is that our students often attain to technical dexterity without acquiring the mass of knowledge which is needed if their skill is to be profitably employed. Thirty-five years ago there was at least as much erudition in Oxford as to-day, but few scholars had the resolution, or perhaps the opportunity, to train themselves in the systematic use of the knowledge they had acquired. Wordsworth, then, had the double task of collecting his material and of mastering

[1] Hermann Rönsch, of Lobenstein, was the author of the excellent study of the language of the Latin Bible, *Itala und Vulgata*, of which the first edition appeared in 1868, the second in 1875.

his method, and he wisely abstained from premature publicity. Yet tidings got abroad :—

"I am talking about editing the New Testament Vulgate (from MSS., of course)," he wrote to his brother,[1] "but nothing is settled about it, so a paragraph in the papers which some tiresome person has put in is quite premature. Do you know of any one at Cambridge who has taken up this line at all? G. Williams began, but I believe did not go very far. Of course I must work with Bentley's collations."

The authorities of the Press were, in fact, cautious. They gave no definite commission to Wordsworth, and no formal agreement for the publication of the work was executed till 1890. He was disappointed with the vagueness of their sanction, but he had no occasion to complain of their failure to support him. In November, 1878, he made his first application for the payment of travelling expenses to be incurred in Italy during the Christmas vacation; in the following March he made his first report to the Press of the results he had attained. From this time onwards for the next seven years sums were regularly voted for the travelling expenses of Wordsworth and his assistants, for the labour of collation in several countries of foreign scholars, and for the purchase of books and manuscript material. Of the last class the most important acquisition was that of Tischendorf's Latin collections, made through his literary executor, Dr. Caspar René Gregory, of Leipzig.[2] But it was not till November, 1882, that Wordsworth published a detailed prospectus of *The Oxford Critical Edition of the Vulgate New Testament.*

[1] 20th August, 1878.

[2] Dr. Gregory lectured for Wordsworth 1st May, 1883, on "The way to use and describe Greek MSS., especially of the New Testament; illustrated by MSS. in the Bodleian." He was Wordsworth's guest in B.N.C., and has contributed an appreciative sketch of his career to the 1913 supplement of the *Realencyclopädie für Theologie und Kirche.*

Meanwhile, the routine of his life was interrupted by an unsuccessful candidature for the post of Public Orator, which his father had held at Cambridge. It was vacant by the death of T. F. Dallin of Queen's, and Wordsworth was nominated by the Principal of Brasenose, the Warden of New College, and H. Nettleship, Professor of Latin. He withdrew in a week, as he had "not received sufficient support to justify him in putting his friends to the trouble of a journey to Oxford," and Mr. W. W. Merry, now Rector of Lincoln, was elected. It was a more serious event that he was invited by the Heads of Houses in 1880 to deliver the Bampton Lectures of the following year. He had applied for the honour in 1879, submitting the same scheme as was approved a year later, but Edwin Hatch was preferred. Of Hatch's memorable course, which has deeply influenced thought on the history of the Church, Wordsworth wrote with strong disapproval while it was being delivered; but Hatch's suggestions came in time to have weight with him, as with all other serious students. An unexpected and unusual honour was paid when the electors, passing over the candidates whose names were before them, chose Wordsworth, who had not renewed his application.

The title of his course was, "The One Religion; Truth, Holiness, and Peace desired by the Nations, and revealed by Jesus Christ." It was, as he said in his preface :—

"a contribution to the comparative study of religion from a Christian point of view. . . . I offer it more particularly to those who have an interest or a share in foreign missions, from association with whom I have derived constant help and encouragement, for which I should wish in some degree to make a return. It is not too much to say, that without the Oxford Missionary Association of Graduates, of which Dr. Mozley was the first President, and without the free use of its

library and the stimulus of frequent intercourse with foreign missionaries, of which it has been the centre, this book would never have been written."

The lectures, then, had a definitely missionary purpose. Among the Churchmen of Oxford the missionary interest was very keen. The martyrdom of Bishop Patteson had taken place on the 16th December, 1871; on the 20th December, 1872, was held the first general Day of Intercession for foreign missions, which had remarkable results. Among them was the foundation in 1874 of the Oxford Society mentioned above, which was followed by the establishment of St. Stephen's House, primarily for the training of graduates for missionary work. No one was more actively interested in the cause than John Wordsworth, though there is no evidence that it occurred to himself, or was suggested to him by others, that he should undertake work abroad. As early as 1873 he had founded a College Missionary Society, which, says Canon Clayton—

"did excellent work by meetings in the College hall and intercessions in the chapel, a daily prayer to be used by the members and a subscription according to their means to one of the great Societies.[1] . . . The Missionary Library was J. Wordsworth's delight. It belonged to the Graduates' Missionary Association; it was formerly housed in a room at the top of High Street, afterwards moved to St. Mary's Parish Room, and now is partially dissolved and taken elsewhere. J. Wordsworth was librarian for many years."

In 1876 he was making elaborate notes concerning the religious thoughts and practices of primitive peoples, such as the Eskimo, but it does not appear whether he was already planning a course of Bampton Lectures.

[1] He insisted that the members must be communicants, and pressed upon them that they ought to join in the corporate communions of the College Society.

He followed the spirit of the time when his studies turned, as they had already done in his lectures for Mozley, to the topics which Max Müller had popularised. He had attended Max Müller's lectures on the history of religion while still an undergraduate. That famous teacher had sketched a development of religious ideas which later research has rejected, and had cast a glamour over the comparative study of religions which is now faded. But in 1880 the freshness remained and doubt had not arisen. It was an honourable challenge that Wordsworth uttered when he resolved to take the wisdom of the day and turn it to orthodox account, employing both its methods and its treasury, the "Sacred Books of the East," for his own purposes.

"It is rather a critical undertaking," he writes to his brother,[1] "and one for which I was not prepared this year, but I must take it as a great compliment that I was elected without having renewed my candidature. . . . I shall be glad to know of any books that you may come across treating of the ideal side of heathenism. I want to put this in the best light and then to show its unsatisfactoriness. This was the subject of a course of lectures which I gave for Dr. Mozley in 1878, just after his death, so that I have the materials at hand; but I must recast them in rather a different form."

But Wordsworth was not to give the whole of his spare time to the composition of his Bampton Lectures. He was moved by public utterances of the time to plunge into the controversy concerning the future constitution of the Oxford Colleges. His father, as Bishop of Lincoln, was affected by the proposed abolition of episcopal visitors, and was making a vigorous, and in the long run successful, attempt to maintain certain special rights in Lincoln College. On general as well as personal grounds

[1] 7th May, 1880.

John Wordsworth was a champion of the same cause. He was tempted into print by a speech delivered in Parliament on the 9th July, 1880, by a typical Whig of that generation, Mr. C. S. Roundell. Mr. Roundell had been a pupil of Christopher Wordsworth at Harrow and a Fellow of Merton; he represented the Lincolnshire constituency of Grantham. He was moving that the House "deems it inexpedient that, save in the case of the Deanery of Christ Church, any clerical restriction shall remain or be attached to any headship or fellowship in any College of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge," and he was supported by a petition from a large number of the most distinguished residents in Oxford, many of them in Holy Orders and some of them men with whom Wordsworth would generally have been in the closest sympathy. It might have been thought that conciliatory language would have been in place when a project, so supported, was being advocated; and good-humour would have been graceful in the champions of a cause which was certain, on the main issues, to be triumphant. But the acrid eloquence to which Matthew Arnold has given an unenviable immortality was then in fashion, and Mr. Roundell's manner of stating his case came near to insolence. It so happened that about the same time Mr. James Bryce, then Regius Professor of Civil Law and more recently our distinguished Ambassador to the United States, spoke at "a breakfast of the friends of Religious Liberty." He won applause by saying, concerning the proposed retention of clerical fellowships in three Colleges:—

"Now this is felt by the Liberal Party, and by those whom we ought more particularly to pity, the Liberal members of those Colleges, who are going to be handed over, bound hand and foot, to the mercies of a clerical majority, to be a grievous wrong."

This with some other utterances of Mr. Bryce, and the general tone of Mr. Roundell, provoked Wordsworth to address a printed letter, entitled "The Church and the Universities," to the latter gentleman. In it he argued especially against three propositions, the abolition of clerical restrictions upon fellowships or headships, the introduction of "lay" [1] teaching of theology, and the substitution of lay for episcopal visitors. The arguments are those of the day, and need not be recapitulated; they were seized upon and used for a vigorous sermon in St. Mary's by Dean Burgon a fortnight after their publication.[2] Wordsworth was not entirely pleased at being exploited by so inconsiderate a champion of his cause.

The matter might have ended here, had not two brisk controversies arisen. Mr. Bryce was well within his rights when he protested against "mercies" being expanded by Wordsworth into "tender mercies" in the passage cited above; he also denied that certain sentiments attributed to him in a report of his speech by the *Nonconformist* newspaper, and repeated in the *Guardian*, were his. Wordsworth issued a second edition of his pamphlet with the necessary corrections. He had also chosen Exeter as an example of a College whose founder's purpose was being thwarted by the new legislation, and this brought Mr. Ingram Bywater, afterwards Regius Professor of Greek, into the dispute. It is clear that much could be said on both sides, and that Exeter was not the strongest case that might have been chosen in proof of the clerical case. Perhaps Mr. Bywater's suggestion, in his printed reply, that Exeter was designed for a College of deacons by its second founder may be

[1] The inverted commas are Wordsworth's.

[2] "The Disestablishment of Religion in Oxford, the Betrayal of a Sacred Trust: Words of Warning to the University." Preached on the 21st November, 1880.

set against Wordsworth's claim that it was a College of priests, and the battle be regarded as drawn.

If Wordsworth's first essay in University politics, his Letter to the Warden of Keble, had excited no attention, his second had a gratifying reception. It may be said to have made him a public man. Letters of gratitude poured in from allies and of courteous appreciation from adversaries. At Liddon's suggestion it was sent to Mr. Gladstone, who took it down with him to Hawarden; whether he found time to read it does not appear. Lord Salisbury sympathised with the author, but was not hopeful [1]:—

"I convinced myself during the passage of the University Bill through Parliament that clerical fellowships had to struggle with too strong a prejudice to be effectively maintained for very long. It is a prejudice of the same kind as that which is producing such startling results in France, and is not amenable to any kind of argument. I regret to say that it is not wholly confined to the Liberal side of the House."

Wordsworth was to be the first Bishop recommended to the Crown by Lord Salisbury as Prime Minister.

It was quickly evident that protests were unavailing, and the best had to be made of the new position. To a clerical colleague in Brasenose, some years his junior, who had taken the opposite side,[2] Wordsworth wrote the following letter a year after his pamphlet was published:—

"I wish you could have some of the experience which is necessarily forced upon me as a Bishop's Chaplain—such for instance, as I have had during the last week. You would, I am sure, understand better my feeling as to Divinity lectures, the Missionary Association, etc., etc. Men come from

[1] 18th November, 1880.

[2] The Rev. C. A. Whittuck; dated Riseholme, 21st December, 1881.

Oxford and Cambridge (and elsewhere) with the most rudimentary ideas as to work and the smallest amount of knowledge, and one feels the terrible responsibility of sending them out into the world to take important places where they will have absolutely no time for reading, according to all accounts.

"The College and the Commissioners have decided (and I am afraid the decision will be the law of the future) to destroy the character of Brasenose as a clerical society. We who are clergy have therefore a greater burden upon us to do the work which in old days would have fallen upon a number of shoulders besides ours. We must not feed ourselves (by special study, etc.) and neglect to feed the sheep with the rudiments of Christian knowledge, especially if they are candidates for Holy Orders. We have so little of bearing the cross that surely we ought not to grumble if men are slow to hear us or dislike some of the forms in which our teaching is necessarily bound by rules which we individually have no power to alter. It is a cross (let us say) to lecture on Pass Divinity, but ought not one to be glad to bear it? It is hard to preach plain sermons on old truths. Ought we not to try to do it?"

Before this letter was written his Bampton Lectures were delivered and published. *The One Religion* may be left to speak for itself. The book, which attained the distinction, not too common in the case of Bampton Lectures, of a second edition,[1] was dedicated "to the memory of my friend and teacher, James Bowling Mozley, who has been constantly in my thoughts in writing these lectures." Mozley's manner of thought is perceptible throughout, though the width of reading upon which the generalisations are based is Wordsworth's own. It is, indeed, scarcely the less extraordinary in that the Oriental learning was of necessity at second-hand. The author's knowledge of languages did not range eastward of the Hebrew and Syriac, the latter being an acquisition of after years; this is the only volume of his to be largely

[1] First edition, Parkers, Oxford, 1881; second edition, 1887.

based upon translations. It suffers not only from this disadvantage, but also from being an experiment in a novel line of research. Dr. Sanday [1] speaks of it as—

"chiefly noticeable as an early application of the new science of Comparative Religion. Its attraction for the lecturer probably lay in the scope which it gave for his remarkable power of rapid assimilation. This is the most striking feature of the book; at the same time the categories with which it dealt were too vague to make a very deep impression."

The lecturer introduced a new subject; he also made the sensible innovation of placing a synopsis of each lecture in the hands of his hearers at the time of its delivery. This was much appreciated.[2] But the course was memorable, apart from its merits, as having called into existence a book which was not only a singularly successful novel, but an impressive religious manifesto. Mrs. Humphrey Ward has told[3] how she came to write her *Robert Elsmere*.

"It was in the spring of 1881 that the Reverend John Wordsworth, Fellow and Tutor of Brasenose College, as he then was—now the Bishop of Salisbury—preached the Bampton Lectures in St. Mary's. A personal recollection with regard to the first of those Lectures may be given here, as it was, in fact, to the indignant reaction excited by that sermon in the mind of one of Dr. Wordsworth's hearers that *Robert Elsmere* may ultimately be traced. The syllabus of the Lecture had been circulated beforehand. It contained the following: 'The present unsettlement in religion.—Its relation to the movement of civilisation.—Sense of injustice often felt in a time of transition.—Book of Job.—Christ, however, connects unbelief and sin.—Moral causes of unbelief, (1) Prejudice; (2) Severe claims of religion, (3) Intellectual faults, especially indolence, coldness, recklessness, pride, and

[1] *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1912.
[2] From Canon Clayton.
[3] Introduction to the Library Edition, 1911.

avarice.' These headings were developed in the sermon itself with a good deal of vigour and rigour. I remember gazing from those dim pews under the gallery, where the Masters' wives sit, at the fine ascetic face of the preacher,[1] with its strong likeness to his great-uncle, the poet of English pantheism; and seeing beside it and around it, in imagination, the forms of those, his colleagues and contemporaries, the patient scholars and thinkers of the Liberal host, whom he was really—though perhaps not consciously—attacking. My heart burned within me, and it sprang into my mind that the only way to show England what was in truth going on in its midst, was to try and express it concretely—in terms of actual life and conduct. Who and what were the persons who had either provoked the present unsettlement of religion, or were suffering under its effects? What was their history? How had their thoughts and doubts come to be? And what was the effect of them upon conduct? It was from this protesting impulse, constantly cherished and strengthened, that, a few years later, *Robert Elsmere* took its beginning. It found immediate expression, however, in a pamphlet called *Unbelief and Sin—a Protest addressed to those who attended the Bampton Lecture of Sunday, March* 6. I wrote it rapidly; it was printed and put up for sale in the windows of a well-known bookseller's shop in the High Street."

Mrs. Ward must tell the story of the brief and interesting career of her pamphlet. It is written with force, and with a candour that recognises the existence in Oxford of "the jejune and reckless free-thinking of the

[1] Archdeacon Bodington, who saw John Wordsworth for the first time at one of these lectures, says of it: "I remember thinking how Wordsworthian it was. I remember also being struck by what I thought the beauty of the high curve of the head, of the unbroken straight line made by the brow and nose, and also of the searching blue eyes, the most spiritual, true, and sincere it was possible to see." In the following year Dean Lake (*Memorials*, p. 262) describes a Lincoln Ordination: "Christopher, in a gorgeous cope, laying hands on these youths with that suave but ascetic face of his, and with the fervour and solemnity peculiarly his own. John Wordsworth holding with motionless rigidity a pastoral staff, the crook turned outwards, blazing with jewels."

self-indulgent undergraduate or young fellow." That was the aspect of the ferment of thought that was conspicuous to Wordsworth. To Mrs. Ward the prominent figures on the scene were—

"men in our midst . . . in whom the highest points of Christian character are combined with a slowly formed and firmly held conviction of the hollowness of the claims made by the popular Christianity upon the reasonable faith of men."

There was a clear and important issue, and had a controversy ensued it would have been conducted with becoming dignity. Not unwisely, both sides abstained.

In the midst of his course Wordsworth was struck down by an accident which for a time seemed to endanger his life. While riding in the fields near Chalgrove during the Easter Vacation, he opened a gate which swung back, and the ironwork wounded him in the leg. He was carried to Pyrton Vicarage, the home of his brother-in-law, Mr. Hilgrove Coxe, and was long detained there. He was unable to walk till July, and did not resume his full work till the beginning of 1882. Three of his lectures were read for him by the Warden of Keble in the Summer term, and the two final discourses were delivered by himself in Michaelmas term, just before the publication of the book, the preface of which is dated 7th November, 1881. During his illness he had resumed the practice of writing English verse, turning out an abundance of pleasant descriptive and narrative lines in the metres of Scott. Dr. Bright, in a letter to Mrs. Wordsworth,[1] expressed the general sense of his friends concerning the value of her husband to the University :—

"It is a matter of the truest and most well-grounded thankfulness to see your husband physically so much himself

[1] Christ Church, 12th December, 1881.

again. Setting apart all personal considerations, and trying to put one's self simply in the position of Christian and Churchman resident in Oxford, one would be sure to feel that a more prolonged illness, perhaps involving a yet longer absence on his part from Oxford and its work, would have been one of the sorest blows which the Cause could have received in what was once its stronghold and sanctuary. Such a trial we have escaped, and it is an escape indeed."

On the 7th June, 1882, he was re-elected to an official fellowship in Brasenose. He had hesitated about accepting the post, which was that of chaplain-fellow, with the sole responsibility for the religious life of the College. He was to have the assistance of a stipendiary chaplain, and his task was lightened by the circumstance, very important in his eyes, that some of his colleagues were in Holy Orders, though he could not expect with any confidence that this would continue. Brasenose, in fact, had come to have a majority of "Academic Liberals," for the most part young men, on its governing body. But though their policy was not his, Wordsworth suffered no ungenerous treatment, and the novel position of a Fellow without life-tenure, which had its discomfort in some Colleges, was not irksome in Brasenose. Writing to his brother, just before his formal election,[1] he says :—

"I am glad, of course, to have a vote, and glad to have a more or less secure position (ten years, subject to re-election), but I feel the responsibility of being the only (statutable) clerical member of the body, and having the sole responsibility of religious teaching. In many ways I thought the College would have done better to have chosen a younger man with whom I could have worked and whom I could have educated, so to speak, to take my place when I go. What I feel is that if I should be called away to other work there would be a gap, and no security for permanence of the same sort of relations which we have had with the men. But there was

[1] 3rd June, 1882.

no security either (if I had refused) that any man would be chosen with whom one would have been thoroughly satisfied, and this among other things led me to think it right to take the place."

At once he began to increase his spiritual work in the College. He writes to his father, rejoicing that he is—

"getting leave to use the chapel on Saturday evenings for devotional addresses. I shall give six this term, beginning at 9.30 and leaving off at five minutes to ten, when the bell goes for Evensong; subjects, Public Prayer, Private Prayer, Holy Communion in general, H.C. a consecration of nature, a preparation for work, a preparation for death. I have given three as yet. The attendance began with about 12, and has increased to 16 or 17, which is encouraging. I begin with reading a Psalm from the Bible, and end with a prayer. There was some opposition to this proposal, but the Principal and one or two others kindly supported me, and those who opposed it I feel sure wish me well."

Wordsworth was again in the full swing of his work, classical and theological. In 1882 and 1883 he was an examiner in the Theological School, and he was from time to time reading before the Oxford Philological Society papers of classical and palaeographical knowledge as applied to the study of the Latin Bible. After much thought and the collection of much material, in which his vacations were now regularly employed, he was able to formulate his scheme for "The Oxford Critical Edition of the Vulgate New Testament." The prospectus was published on the 2nd November, 1882, and in a revised form on the 25th May, 1883. No serious change has been found necessary, and the work has proceeded to the present day on the lines then laid down. Wordsworth wisely made a complete collation of each foreign manuscript, and revised it at once, so that no second visit to the library might be necessary. Thus, even

before the First Gospel was in print, a great part of the material for the whole New Testament was collected, and his partners and successors in the task will be working to the end, in large measure, upon his collations or on collations made for him in the earlier stages of the undertaking.

On his journeys in search of manuscripts he was usually accompanied by his wife, and her bright letters record their adventures. The hardest work was, perhaps, at La Cava, near Naples, in January, 1879, where he worked daily from eight to half-past four. But the most interesting visit was to Spain in the Easter Vacation of 1882. His purpose was not simply that of collating known MSS., but of seeking in old libraries for possible MSS. of the first importance. While Mrs. Wordsworth was sketching and sight-seeing at Toledo, her husband was hard at work. He writes to his brother [1]:—

"I should have asked if you wanted anything looked up in the libraries, but I am afraid if you had wanted anything I should not have had time for it, as my own work on the Toledo Bible is heavier than I expected. It is nominally to revise a collation, but this is little less than making a new one, as I have to read the whole N.T. and constantly to correct Palomares' work, which is not surprising, as it was done in 1588. It was rather hard on him, after all the trouble he took, that it was not in time to be used in the Sixtine Revision."

But elsewhere Mrs. Wordsworth was able to help. It is unfortunate that the MSS. with which her story deals turned out to be of the common Spanish type, and unworthy, in spite of their age, of full collation. She wrote to her mother [2] from Avila:—

"John asked a gentleman in the train who was the most learned man in Leon, and he named a Señor Don Ureña; so

[1] 12th March, 1882. [2] 23rd March, 1882.

John called on him on Sunday afternoon and he agreed to take John to the library of San Isidoro on Monday morning at eight. John came back at twelve, furious. There was the MS. and Don Ureña had taken him into the monastery, but the Canonigos wouldn't let him look at it. They summoned a chapter, for John of course made a great row—said he had come all the way from Oxford, showed his letter to the Archbishop of Toledo, etc., etc. I do so wish I had seen it. I saw the old vaulted cloister, and it must have been a splendid sight. The Canonigos were all fine, big men, like the Dean of Christ Church, with their great three-cornered hats, and John in the middle. At last they let him see it with a Canon standing over him—one hour in the morning and half an hour in the afternoon. Don Ureña was most kind, helped John, took us out for a drive with his own carriage and horse, and was far the most intelligent man we have yet met in Spain. But, oh! the strain of understanding his Spanish. John asked him to dinner, so that from two till nearly nine we were hard at work, talking a language I had never heard a word of a month ago. The most awful moment was when John left me to fetch his collations at the hotel. Both Don Ureña and Canonigo Pascual took possession of me, shouting away Spanish at me at the top of their voices. I was surprised to find how well I got on considering what the strain was. They showed me such lovely things—the Pantheon of the Church, a sort of Galilee like that at Durham, only far more beautiful, with such carving and such coloured columns. Then John joined us and we went up to the library. John said, 'Keep them amused if you can for as long as possible,' and I did work hard. They showed me the standard of San Isidoro, which I suppose no woman had ever seen before —old missals—I talking hard all the time and John in despair collating for dear life, but they wouldn't give him more than half an hour. The Canonigo then took us on to the old city walls, where more Canonigos were walking up and down and smoking; such a lovely view. They all bowed, kissed my hands and were at my feet; the usual Spanish greeting. Then they walked us up and down, John like a child who has had its doll taken away from it, very cross and feeling horribly *de trop*, but it was beautiful, and the Canonigos so curious

about us. Tuesday morning we dashed off up to the Cathedral and found a most interesting MS., very mutilated but more like the Codex Cavensis than any we have yet seen. It was even more difficult to get a sight of than the other. I would have given anything to sketch the two figures—John working away hard, writing notes, absorbed in his work, with his fair hair and English look, and the great Spanish Canon, dark, scowling, double John's size, standing over him with his arms folded, smoking of course, but looking so handsome. He would only allow us half an hour, and then off we ran to catch the train which left at half-past ten, Tuesday morning, and got us into Avila at half-past two, Wednesday morning. It sounds much worse than it was. The train crawled along, we could have walked as quick, through miles and miles of dreary waste land without grass and without a tree, something like the Holy Land, I fancy; only dry, brown, and yellow sand, cold wind and dust."

The published prospectus was well received. Dr. Hort gave it his full approval; good results ought certainly to be obtained from "so wide and carefully chosen a range of materials." He suggested that the Old Latin readings should be fully incorporated, a counsel which unhappily was not followed in St. Matthew and St. Mark, though his advice has been taken in the later books. Dean Burgon also wrote with his accustomed emphasis; he recognised, as no one else as yet did, the seriousness of the task.

"I must not deceive you. You cannot make an edition of the Vulgate a *πάρεργον*. It must occupy you ten years of hard work. It must become the business of a life. To fit it in with lectures and University business is (in my view) a simple impossibility, if the product is to be a *κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί* —a work worthy of your Father's Son." [1]

In the autumn of this year Archbishop Tait lay dying, and Wordsworth wrote to a friend who had confidential

[1] Deanery, Chichester, 4th December, 1882.

access to Mr. Gladstone in recommendation of the Bishop of Truro as his successor [1]:—

"We want, in my opinion, a man who can acquire such freedom for the throne of Canterbury that it can take the patriarchal relation to the Colonial churches, without offence. The Archbishop's design in this respect, I think, was right, though his method of execution, especially his disregard of Convocation, was not reassuring to the clergy, and so set many good Churchmen against him. I believe E. W. T. might find a means of conciliating both clergy and laity, and so keep us from the break-up which seems now and again to threaten. I confess I don't believe in S. Africa being quite independent; lay people and others out there won't stand it and they themselves are not fit for it. But we must have a sympathetic Archbishop before they will consent to anything like appeal to England."

Dr. Liddon resigned the Ireland Professorship of Exegesis on the 30th September in this year, 1882. As we have seen, he wished Wordsworth to be his successor, and Wordsworth was a candidate. His opponent was Edwin Hatch, and in the curious phase through which the University was passing the contest inevitably took a quasi-political form. The question was, how many among the Heads of Houses, who were the electors, were "Academic Liberals." Wordsworth took it for granted that they would vote against him. However, at the last moment Dr. Sanday was induced to come forward, and was elected by general consent.[2] Three weeks before this election Dr. Hawkins, the aged Provost of Oriel, had died, and a new office, the Oriel Professorship of the

[1] 7th September, 1882.

[2] Writing to his father on the 30th November, Wordsworth says, "the election will be on December 8th. The day is the same on which my Bampton Lectures came out last year. What do the augurs say to that?" This is one of the few signs that he paid any of that Laudian attention to coincidences which marked his father and Archbishop Benson.

Interpretation of Holy Scripture, came into existence, to be endowed with his Canonry at Rochester. Wordsworth at once came forward, though he was warned by Bishop Benson, now Archbishop designate, that his chance was small: "there seems a consensus that you are to have the Margaret Professorship." That post did not fall vacant till Wordsworth had been ten years a Bishop. He persisted in his candidature, and on the 8th March, 1883, was elected [1] to the double office in Oxford and Rochester. The approval was general, and the rejoicing of Liddon and his other friends was hearty.

Wordsworth retained his teaching work, both classical and theological, till the end of 1883. He then resigned these duties, but continued to hold his chaplain-fellowship in Brasenose till he left Oxford. Being now a residentiary canon of another cathedral, he also resigned in 1883 his Lincoln prebend. He had now a new range of interests, and the next two years were to be the sole period of his life that he could devote without distraction to scholarship, though, as we shall see, he took his duties at Rochester very seriously.

[1] The electors were the Archbishop of Canterbury (who had been confirmed on the 3rd), the Bishop of Rochester (Thorold), the Vice-Chancellor (Jowett), the Provost of Oriel (Monro), the Regius Professor of Divinity (Ince).

CHAPTER VI

ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL—ELECTION TO SALISBURY

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Archaeology and Criticism," and
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connected with his Vulgate
edition of the New Testament pro-
and John Walker,"[2] and "The Corbey
and the light thrown by it on the
the Epistle." Among other readers
of Bigg, Ramsay, Sanday, and
activity was his publication,
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eries was meant to serve as pro-
ion of the Vulgate, and this volume
main MS. of St. Matthew. Words-
hor of the second; the later numbers

[1] In the Summer term of 1885 he lectured successively on St. Mark, the Acts, St. James, and St. John's Gospel.

[2] He contributed an article on Walker to the first supplement of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, in 1909.

John Wordsworth. Oriel Professor.

Univ.
Calif.

CHAPTER VI

[illegible] AND ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL—ELECTION TO SALISBURY

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[1] [illegible] the Summer term of 1885 he lectured successively on [illegible] Acts, St. James, and St. John's Gospel.

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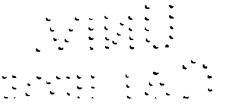
John Wordsworth. Oriel Professor.

Univ. of California



are by other hands.[1] But the most striking act of the new Professor, and one that showed his originality, was the institution of a lecture for candidates in the examination in the "Rudiments of Faith and Religion." That examination, now happily extinct, was notorious for its encouragement of irreverence and cramming; but Wordsworth saw in it an opening for the religious instruction of some who would otherwise have no occasion to study sacred subjects at Oxford, and resolved to turn it to account. In spite of the novelty of a Professor lecturing on a Pass subject, and of the excellence of his motives, the course cannot have been successful, for it was not repeated.

Among his voluntary activities was that of lecturing from 1884 for the Association for the Education of Women in Oxford; and he showed his regard for Dr. Mozley by helping his sister to compile the volume of his *Letters*, and to select the *Essays, Historical and Theological*, both of which works were published in 1884.[2] The latter was dedicated by Miss Mozley to Professor Wordsworth. In the new constitution of the University, which was just coming into force, he found some opportunity of action. Boards of Faculties came into being in January, 1883, and Wordsworth was one of their original members;[3] as a Professor he had an official place on the Board of

[1] *O.L.B.T.* ii. bears the names of Wordsworth, Sanday, and H. J. White; it deals with the Bobbio MS. (k). Vols. iii. and iv. are by Dr. White, joint-editor of the Vulgate; v. and vi. by Mr. E. S. Buchanan, a scholar from New Zealand who was ordained by Bishop Wordsworth in 1897, and has settled in England.

[2] He formed a very close friendship with the ladies of the Mozley family, and from them learned much of the inner history of the Oxford Movement. To the posthumous *Essays from Blackwood* of Miss Anne Mozley, 1892, a memoir by Bishop Wordsworth was prefixed.

[3] He was nominated by his College as a member of three Faculties, Literae Humaniores, Modern History, and Theology, but sat on the Board only of the last. He never seems to have lectured on Modern History.

Theology. In October, 1884, he also became a member of the Hebdomadal Council, defeating his friend Dr. King of Christ Church by two votes.[1]

Though his activity was unimpaired, Wordsworth's recovery from his accident of 1881 was not complete. He was to suffer from it at intervals throughout his life, and when he became chaplain-fellow he found the daily walk from Keble Terrace to Brasenose and back to his breakfast so tiring that he had to seek a fresh home. He found it in a picturesque old house facing the west end of St. Mary's Church and almost surrounded by Brasenose, to which it belonged. After some negotiations he obtained a lease, and was able for the first time to indulge his passion for architectural restoration and antiquarian reconstruction of the past. Writing to an old pupil[2] he describes its state :—

" This house is very nearly in ruins, but is being rebuilt and repaired fast enough to give us the expectation of getting into it at Michaelmas. We have found several old Jacobean fireplaces of rather rudely carved stone—some looking earlier —all which we shall use when possible. On one carved doorway (which is to be our front door) we find the Magdalen College arms, and below, the fleur-de-lys. This we think proves that the house belonged to Magdalen College and is to be identified with a Hall called ' Little St. Mary's Entry.' On the other doorway to the drawing-room are the rose and thistle. This we think a compliment to James I., who among other things sent his son, Prince Henry, to Magdalen, about the time when we suppose this house to have been built. General Rigaud has also an idea that the house was inhabited by a bookseller called Joseph Barnes, so I have promptly bought Bryan Twyne's *Antiquities of Oxford: Oxoniae excudebat Josephus*

[1] This was really a defeat for his side and a victory for the Academic Liberals. There were three professorial vacancies and each party put forward two candidates. The voting was, Markby 131, Bywater 128, Wordsworth 127, King 125.

[2] 14th May, 1884, to C. W. Holgate, afterwards his legal secretary and Chancellor.

Barnes anno Dom. 1608, which I shall say was printed in my house till Madan [1] disproves it. We have had a great many changes of plan, much to the worry of the architect, who has, however, been most angelically patient."

He was not the last architect to find in the future Bishop a masterful client; but it must be said that the client's suggestions were often practical as well as ingenious.

The Oriel professorship was endowed with a canonry which Queen Anne had attached to the provostship of the College, but which had been put to a new use now that the Provost might be, and indeed was, a layman. It was still attached to the College in that the holder was officially a Fellow, with a vote in its government. The Rev. L. R. Phelps,[2] one of his colleagues, writes of him :—

"The Commission of 1882 made many changes in Oxford. Not the least important in its effect upon our social life was the attaching of Professors *ex officio* to various Colleges. Thus by his election in 1883 to the chair of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture, Wordsworth became Fellow of Oriel and Canon of Rochester. He was admitted on March 9, 1883, and remained a Fellow until his appointment as Bishop of Salisbury in 1885.

"The position was not altogether free from difficulty. Over and above the dichotomy of life involved by residence at Rochester and professorial duties in Oxford there was a certain anomaly in his being a Fellow without emolument. He sat at College meetings and took part in College business without the material interest of a share in College dividends. Nor, again, is it altogether easy for a man trained in the ways of thought and manner of life of one society to adopt those of another. In short, there were endless opportunities for misunderstanding and even friction, and a College might well feel a little nervous for the result. Happily any doubts on the subject were soon set at rest. Wordsworth threw himself

[1] F. Madan, Fellow of B.N.C., now Bodley's Librarian.
[2] Fellow of Oriel 1877; now Provost.

whole-heartedly into the life of the College in all its aspects. He cultivated the friendship of its members, he made himself familiar with its history and traditions, he welcomed every opportunity of doing it service. In after life he spoke warmly, nay, generously, of his connexion with it and the debt he owed to it. To the last he was a regular visitor at College celebrations, always ready to propose or acknowledge a toast. His speeches on such occasions were full of matter and often threw light on the course of his own studies. In short, he was a loyal member of Oriel, and brief as was his actual connexion with us it left a lasting memory behind."

The life at Rochester, where the Chapter agreed that the Professor-Canon should take his residence during the Long Vacation, was one of great happiness for the Wordsworths. The Dean was Dr. Scott, joint author of the Greek Lexicon, a former Master of Balliol and a friend of Mrs. Wordsworth from her childhood. The Canons were Archdeacon Grant, who was in failing health and died on the 25th November in this year, 1883, and Messrs. Jelf and Burrows, with both of whom the new Canon formed a close friendship.[1] At the end of his first residence he describes his experience to one of his sisters [2]:—

"We go back to Oxford to-morrow, having wound up our residence here to-day. . . . Our Chapter may not be so grand as yours and our cathedral is certainly inferior, but I will back our Chapter against any in England for kindliness and affection up and down, from the Dean to the choir-boys and vergers. Susie and I are in danger of getting quite spoilt, and it is lucky that we have got Oxford with its knocks and

[1] Canon Jelf preached at his consecration; the *Memorials* of Canon Burrows (1894) were written by Miss E. Wordsworth, with an introduction by the Bishop of Salisbury. After Canon Burrows' death in 1892 his widow (the mother of the present Bishop of Truro) and her daughters took up their residence in Salisbury. The *Memorials* well illustrate the Rochester life of the Wordsworths.

[2] Mrs. Leeke, of Lincoln, 30th September, 1883.

its clavers to give us a tonic after the sweetness of Rochester. Perhaps this gentleness is due to the absence of books. I was never, I think, in a town of such a size—about 90,000 people all told in the group of towns—without a single bookseller's shop above the rank of a Christian Knowledge depôt. What I should have done without the Provost's library, I cannot think." [1]

But if he found much that was good, he was bent upon improvements. With the successful example of Chancellor Benson at Lincoln before him, he threw himself into the life of Rochester and Chatham, holding classes for the artisans of the dockyard and evidently exciting a genuine enthusiasm among them. He anticipates "a little beginning of Dr. King's Friday Bethel evenings," and his wife writes [2]:—

"John says they [the dockyard men] make him nervous, they are so anxious to know when he preaches, and evidently discuss and criticise. He says it makes him *more* careful with his sermons."

Mrs. Wordsworth, for her part, collected a great mothers' meeting and found in that and other ways full scope for her powers of influence. Altogether, there was something lyrical about this episode of two years in their life.

It may seem strange that among the desires that were satisfied in his new position was that for business to transact. To many he seemed, and seems, the scholar and recluse; in reality he had a passion for administrative work. His marriage in 1870 had shut him out from any share in the business side of College life. He was not re-elected till 1882. In 1883 he became Fellow of Oriel, and as we have seen took a hearty share in the business

[1] Dr. Hawkins had bequeathed his library to his successors.
[2] 26th July, 1884, to her mother.

of a second College. But the crown of his enjoyment was evidently the canonry. He made and kept elaborate notes of Cathedral proceedings; few Deans would have taken such trouble in recording details of merely passing interest. There was no side of Cathedral life with which he did not strive to make himself familiar. He found inevitably that there were points which needed amendment, and at once he bestirred himself. It was an old custom to close the Cathedral for cleaning during a part of the summer. In 1883, during his first residence, this was stopped, and since then service has been continuous. At the same time he began an agitation for an evening service. Dean Scott belonged to an older school, and there were the inevitable objections; "unsatisfactory things taking place in the nave," and so forth. The great age of Archdeacon Grant was another obstacle, but it was not valid for long. In May, 1885, the Canons (for Wordsworth had enlisted their support) gained their will, "the Dean making no objection."

Rochester was an ill-endowed Cathedral, with two schools (the King's School and the Choir School) under its charge, beside the cost of restoration, not yet completed in Wordsworth's time, of the fabric. Dean Scott set a high example of generosity, and the Canons followed his example, as may be seen in the Introduction to Canon Burrows' *Memorials*, where the writer is silent as to his own share of the expenditure. It was largely to Canon Wordsworth that the acquisition of the cricket-ground for the King's School was due; his contributions to the purchase did not cease even after his election to the see of Salisbury.[1] He had a considerable share in designing the Choir School and its surrounding buildings; and also large opportunities of reconstructing Oriel Lodge, his

[1] I learn this from his friend and ally at Rochester, Mr. Stephen Aveling.

official residence, where much needed to be renewed after Dr. Hawkins' long tenure of fifty-five years. He was the more ready to improve it that he meant it for the residence of his father's old age. But the Bishop of Lincoln lived only six weeks after his resignation, and eight months after his father's death John Wordsworth was Bishop of Salisbury. At Rochester, as at St. Mary's Entry, he received little return from his architectural expenditure.

Wordsworth's third residence at Rochester was his last. He had advertised his Oxford lectures for the Autumn term, he was carrying on his usual employments, he had his reading party at Oriel Lodge—having a house away from Oxford, he no longer took lodgings with his pupils but entertained them in his own home—he had his Bible classes for the Cathedral choir boys and for the men of the dockyard, and was taking his share in the social and religious life of the city. He was acting on the assumption that he had found his permanent work, and was making himself thoroughly a man of Kent. It is characteristic that he not only became a subscriber to the *Archaeologia Cantiana*, but bought a set complete from the beginning, and continued his subscription to his death.

This active and happy life was suddenly interrupted by the offer of the Bishopric of Salisbury, made by the Marquess of Salisbury, who succeeded Mr. Gladstone in office on the 23rd June, 1885. It had been publicly known for more than a month before this that Bishop Moberly was on the point of resignation, and there is strong reason to think that had Mr. Gladstone continued in office the see would have been offered to Dr. Liddon.[1] But Dr. Moberly, physically incapable of executing the deed of resignation, lingered on till the 6th July. Canon

[1] See Liddon's *Life*, p. 317.

Wordsworth was one of those who had pleaded with Liddon to accept the see, if it were offered. He had no expectation that it would be offered to himself; it had neither occurred to him that it was possible, nor had any friend suggested it. In fact, he never knew what were the special considerations which induced Lord Salisbury to recommend him to the Queen, as his first episcopal appointment, at that time and for that particular see.

Lord Salisbury wrote as follows from Hatfield House on the 13th August, 1885:—

"REVEREND SIR,

"I have the Queen's permission to propose to you that you should undertake the Bishopric of Salisbury. I earnestly hope that you may be able to accept it. Your position in the Church and your well-known erudition are a sufficient pledge that you will adorn an office the importance of which one bearing the name you have the happiness to bear is not likely to underrate.

"It is right I should tell you that many difficulties have concurred to keep the vacancy open very long—too long for the good of the diocese; and if you do not accept, though it may not be easy to find a better candidate, it may not be easy to escape a worse one.

"Believe me,

"Yours very truly,

"SALISBURY."

The letter was addressed to Brasenose, and as it happened Wordsworth had left no instructions for the forwarding of his correspondence. Mr. Pelham, afterwards Camden Professor and President of Trinity, by chance entered Brasenose Lodge and saw the letter lying on the table. From the signature "Salisbury" in the corner of the envelope he recognised its importance, and it was at once dispatched to Rochester. It reached its destination on the evening of Saturday, the 15th

August. For the reason given in his answer, Wordsworth felt that he must reply at once. He accordingly wrote on the next day from the Precincts, Rochester.

"My Lord,

"The important communication which you were good enough to address to me at Brasenose has been forwarded to me here, where I am keeping my residence till the end of the month, and only reached me late last evening.

"The proposal contained in your Lordship's kind letter was so wholly unexpected that I should gladly have asked leave to reflect on it for a few days, but, knowing that the see of Salisbury has been some time vacant and that your Lordship is leaving England this week, I have endeavoured to consider it and reply to it in the few hours that have elapsed since the receipt of your letter.

"If Her Majesty is graciously pleased to recommend me for election to the Bishopric of Salisbury I shall be willing to accept the appointment and shall endeavour, with the help of God, to do my best to serve the Church in that place. I write this, nevertheless, with a heavy heart, knowing how unworthy I am in His sight of so great a charge.

"May I beg your Lordship, should occasion offer, to present the assurance of my loyal duty to Her Majesty and of my deep gratitude to her for this mark of her confidence and favour? May I also beg you to accept my sincere thanks for the kindness of the terms in which you have been good enough to couch your proposal?

"I have the honour to be, my Lord,

"Always your faithful servant,

"John Wordsworth."

The cases can have been but few in which a bishopric has been accepted by return of post, and without the consultation of even the most intimate friends.

Among the many messages of good will that he received the most interesting was Liddon's.[1]

[1] 3, Amen Court, 19th August, 1885.

"Do not, dear friend, distress yourself in any way on my account. There are many reasons which make it impossible that Lord S. should ever have offered me the see of Salisbury; among others this, that although he has been for years the kindest of friends, he probably knows me too well to think that I should make a good bishop. And (to get out of the region of second causes which in these matters are always apt to be misleading) we can, I think, recognise a Higher Hand in an appointment which places the diocese in the keeping of one who has still, as I trust, his best years before him, and a good heart to make the best possible use of them for God's glory.

"I hope that you will be able to put the Vulgate into the hands of some younger man, sufficiently trustworthy and accomplished, to relieve you of the painful sense of abandoning a truly great work."

Others were more hopeful in this respect. The Archbishop wrote quite lightly of the double work; Dean Church [1] was more doubtful.

"I suppose that after the contradictory notices in the papers I may now believe that you are to succeed my dear old friend and elder brother at Salisbury. I am very glad that so good a man is to be in his place, and one so much in sympathy with all that was nearest his heart. I fear there may be some hindrance and delay in the work which you have been hitherto doing for the Church, and which no one can do as you would do it. Ceriani,[2] I know, will tear his hair. But Lightfoot and Stubbs have found time for their special scholars' work, and I hope you will, too. And for all the rest, there is nothing but matter of congratulation to us all. And I think you will find it a very encouraging diocese to work in. It is a diocese which is at peace, and very loyal."

Bishop King's letter [3] does not allude to the Vulgate.

[1] Deanery, St. Paul's, 19th August, 1885.
[2] The famous scholar and librarian of Milan.
[3] Hilton House, Lincoln, 17th August, 1885.

"It will be a great support and comfort to the Bishops of the Southern Province. When Winchester and Gloucester [1] go there will be little learning left. Now you will just come in at the right time to supply the want."

He was not allowed to leave Brasenose without a public recognition of his services. A fund was collected which, by his own wish, was devoted to the foundation of a Wordsworth prize in the College; it is now given annually for an essay on a theological subject. The letters which accompanied the contributions testify to his influence and to the gratitude of his pupils.[2] It was the conclusion of a happy and successful work, saddened towards the end by the death of some of those dearest to the Wordsworths,[3] but hardly impeded by the frequent infirmities of the wife, which her high spirit enabled her to overcome in term-time, though there is a sad record of lameness and other infirmities which beset her in the vacations. In 1891 the College showed its regard by electing him to an honorary fellowship. To Rochester he bade farewell on the 29th August, and in October he presented to the Cathedral a silver-gilt paten and chalice, copied from those of Brasenose. His Rochester friendships he retained through life.

[1] Bishops Browne and Ellicott.

[2] The testimonial was organised by Messrs. E. H. Goddard, now Rector of Clyffe Pypard, G. Longridge, now of the House of the Resurrection, Mirfield, and G. W. Sandford, now of Liphook, Hants.

[3] Mr. Coxe died in 1881, Mrs. Wordsworth, the mother, in 1884, the Bishop of Lincoln at the beginning of 1885.

CHAPTER VII

THE VULGATE NEW TESTAMENT [BY DR. H. J. WHITE]

THE circumstances which led to Mr. Wordsworth's undertaking to bring out a critical edition of the Vulgate New Testament have been related elsewhere;[1] it remains here to give some account of how he approached the task and successfully performed so much of it.

The need was undoubted. The Bull attached to the Clementine Bible of 1592 ordered that all future editions of the Vulgate were to agree word for word with the Papal edition, while the insertion of any notes or variant readings in the margin was strictly forbidden.[2] These measures undoubtedly provided the Roman Catholic Church with an edition of the Bible which would always be one and the same, but it stifled all attempts at revising the text, and Dr. Sanday could write of the *editio minor* of the Oxford Vulgate in 1912 that it was "the first completely critical edition of the Vulgate New Testament on modern lines."[3] Mr. Wordsworth, therefore, had very little organised material before him when making his preparations and planning out his work; in the

[1] See above, p. 108.

[2] Quite a literature has sprung up in the last few years round the Sixtine and Clementine editions of the Vulgate; see especially Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin et la Bible Sixto-Clementine*, Paris, 1911; Baumgarten, *Die Vulgata Sixtina von* 1590 *und ihre Einführungsbulle*, Münster i. W., 1911; Amann, *Die Vulgata Sixtina von* 1590, Freiburg i. B., 1912.

[3] *Oxford Magazine*, 29th February, 1912, p. 244.

admirable little pamphlet entitled *The Oxford Critical Edition of the Vulgate*, published in 1882, he drew attention not only to "the enormous number of Vulgate MSS. which crowd our libraries," but to the fact that in spite of this—

"there exists no edition based upon a sufficiently wide examination of MS. authorities, much less one that exhibits their variations with accuracy and clearness. The earlier revisers, with the honourable exception of Robert Stephens (1538–1540), and to some extent of Lucas Brugensis, mostly refer to their authorities in general terms, and so vaguely that their evidence is of little value as an assistance to the judgment. The Benedictine editors are, for the most part, equally reticent and disappointing. Bentley's collections for a critical Graeco-Latin Testament happily still exist, and are a noble monument of his labour and genius. His plan was finely conceived, and, generally speaking, on the right lines; but those who have examined his papers carefully agree that he was not an accurate collator, and that he was himself not satisfied with the result of his work as a text for publication. Lachmann's Latin text (1842, 1850), so far as it represents the Vulgate, is based chiefly on two codices, Amiatinus and Fuldensis, and on a faulty and imperfect collation of the first and most important of them. Tischendorf's little manual text (1864), though useful to the student, has a very slight *apparatus criticus*, and was obviously little more than the by-work of a life devoted mainly to Greek MSS."

He himself set to work with characteristic thoroughness, and the succeeding pages of his pamphlet gave a list of the most important Vulgate MSS., with a division into families and an estimate of their respective values, which subsequent study has not seriously modified. He gratefully acknowledged the assistance which he had received from Dr. Westcott's article on the Vulgate in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, and from personal consultation with that scholar; but in addition he carried on a large

amount of pioneer work himself. His correspondence at this time (1882 and onwards) shows that he was in communication with many scholars and libraries, British and foreign, and that he was making systematic inquiries as to the most valuable Vulgate MSS. in almost every country in Europe. Letters are preserved from Dr. Abbott and Dr. Gwynn, of Trinity College, Dublin; from the Rev. J. Fenwick, with regard to the MSS. in the Phillipps Library at Cheltenham; from Canon Greenwell, of Durham, who has lately enriched the British Museum with a page from the brother MS. of the Codex Amiatinus;[1] from Dr. Hatch, who, as early as 1882, was convinced of the late date of the Amiatinus; from Dr. Hort as well as from Dr. Westcott, at Cambridge; from Bishop Lightfoot; from Baron Friedrich von Hügel, who in those days was working at textual criticism, and who kindly collated a considerable portion of the Harley Gospels (*Harl.* 1775) in the British Museum; from Mark Pattison, who was consulted about Erasmus; from Dr. A. W. Streane, who kindly collated the Corpus MS. of the Gospels at Cambridge; from Dr. Scrivener; from Dr. Sparrow Simpson, who was consulted as to the possibility of tracing any of the Vulgate MSS. once belonging to the Cathedral Library at St. Paul's; and from Dr. (now Sir G. F.) Warner, of the British Museum. Abroad, there was a band of scholars at Paris, unrivalled for the thoroughness of their learning, and for the generosity with which they placed it at Mr. Wordsworth's service; it is enough to name Samuel Berger, Léopold Delisle, Paul Fabre, Ch. Kohler, Paul Meyer, Henry Omont; in Germany there were Dr. C. R. Gregory, Dr. Brambach of Karlsruhe, Dr. Gardthausen, Dr. Ernest Ranke (the

[1] Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 3777; full description and photographs are given in the *New Palaeographical Society's* facsimiles, part vii., plates 158, 159 (1909).

editor of the Codex Fuldensis), Dr. Roensch (whose *Itala und Vulgata*, and *Neue Testament Tertullians*, were to be so constantly used), Dr. Spitta of Bonn, Dr. Wattenbach; in Austria, Dr. J. Meister of Vienna; in Switzerland, Dr. Sieber of Basel; in Italy there were at Milan Dr. Ceriani and Padre F. Villa (who transcribed the valuable Milan MS. of the Gospels), at Rome Padre Sergio, Padre Gatti (who, with Dr. Mau, transcribed the *Correctorium Vaticanum*), Dr. Gnoly, and Dr. Meyncke (who collated MS. *Vatic. Regin.* 9 of the Epistles), at Turin Signor Gorresio; and in Spain there were Señor M. de Goicoechea and Señor J. F. de Riaño. These names represent a fairly large circle of European scholars, and we may take it as certain that no one who was known to be an authority on Vulgate MSS. at the time was passed over. The correspondence naturally varied in amount with different people; but with such friends as Dr. Gwynn, Dr. Hort, Dr. Westcott at home, and Samuel Berger, Léopold Delisle, and Henry Omont abroad, the interchange of letters was frequent and increasingly cordial, till death cut off one or other of the correspondents; certainly few students, on beginning a great task, have been helped more willingly or more wisely than was Mr. Wordsworth.

In addition to these friends must be named, as helping him by collation of MSS., Miss E. and Miss J. Johnson, the Rev. W. C. Bell,[1] the Rev. J. C. Roper,[2] and the Rev. W. Marsh.[3] Two other young friends, both of whom he had examined in the Honour Theology School in 1883, began an acquaintance with him soon after that date,

[1] Scholar of B.N.C.; B.A. in 1882; now Vicar of Norland, in the Diocese of Wakefield.

[2] Keble Coll.; B.A. in 1881; now Bishop of Columbia.

[3] Hasker (Hebrew) Scholar of Exeter Coll.; B.A. (1st in Theology) 1887; ordained in 1889; was afterwards Vice-Principal of the Theological College at Gloucester; died in 1894.

which ripened not only into the warmest friendship, but also into a permanent co-operation in the work; these were the Rev. G. M. Youngman [1] and myself. Mr. Youngman collated MSS. in London and Paris and transcribed the whole New Testament from the famous Book of Armagh at Dublin; [2] as years went on he was more and more consulted as to the types of text exhibited by the various families of Vulgate MSS., and his careful study of their relations and characteristics made his advice most valuable; the fasciculi containing the Romans and Acts bear marks of his care on every page, and as the work progresses now his share in it becomes ever larger.

As regards my own share in the work I may be permitted to speak at some length. I was introduced to Mr. Wordsworth through the kind offices of Dr. Sanday in 1884; and after some instruction in palaeography, in which the present Bodley's Librarian, Mr. F. Madan, helped me much, I started collating Vulgate MSS. in the British Museum—an occupation so fascinating that at first I could hardly believe it to be sober reality. The variant readings in all the Vulgate collations were noted in interleaved copies of the Codex Amiatinus, in Tischendorf's edition; [3] the blank pages were divided vertically

[1] Worcester Coll.; B.A. (1st in Theology) 1883; now Rector of Porton, in the diocese of Salisbury.

[2] The beginning of the present year (1914) has at length seen the publication of this MS. in a splendid form, under the editorship of Dr. Gwynn. Dr. Gwynn has conferred a lasting obligation on students of the New Testament by giving an exact transcript of the text, with a most valuable Introduction; it is the fruit of many years' strenuous and wise work (*Liber Ardmachanus: the Book of Armagh*, edited, with Introduction and Appendices, by J. Gwynn, D.D., D.C.L. Dublin, 1913).

[3] Novum Testamentum Latine interprete Hieronymo. ex celeberrimo codice Amiatino . . . nunc primum edidit Constantinus Tischendorf. Lipsiae, 1850 (second edition, with a few corrections, 1854).

into three columns, each of which would contain the collation of one MS. in coloured ink; blue, red, and black were regularly employed and sometimes, in addition, brown and green; these latter, however, were not often used, partly because the pages would become too crowded with collations, partly because there was danger of confusing the colours on a dull day or by artificial light. Indeed, notwithstanding the heroic programme of the first few years, it soon became evident that work at the edition could not be safely carried on except by daylight.

Mr. Wordsworth always collated in Latin; a practice which I have continued, as it is clearer and more concise than English. He collated rapidly and wrote a good clear hand; and so far as I have been able to test his work, he attained a very high level of accuracy, though he himself wrote in 1883, "I know by experience that absolute correctness, if not unattainable, is hardly ever obtained." [1] But I have hardly ever detected him in a mistake, and very rarely in an omission; only those who have worked much at collating MSS. know what high praise this is. A tendency to make his notes too short, and to abbreviate when writing, interfered a little with the clearness of his work; for a collation may not be used for ten or twelve years, and by that time even the collator himself, let alone his assistant, may well have forgotten for what his signs or compendia stood.

By the summer of 1884 enough material had been collected to make a beginning with the text of St. Matthew, and by Canon Wordsworth's invitation I came to stay with him at Rochester for that purpose. I arrived there one hot afternoon in August (if I remember right); he and Mrs. Wordsworth were out, but he came in soon afterwards, greeted me with his bright smile, and after

[1] *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, No. 1, p. xxx.

inquiring whether I wanted any tea, said, "If you have got your notes with you, we may as well begin at once"; and so we did. We worked together till dinner-time, and after dinner till about 11 p.m.; in the midst of dinner he suddenly remarked, "Oh, by the by, do you know which is your bedroom?" but fortunately I had already been shown it. For a fortnight of summer weather we worked between six and eight hours a day, and finished about ten chapters of St. Matthew; then I left for the Continent, to collate the texts of the St. Gall fragments (*n*, *o*, *p*) and the Munich Gospels (*q*) for the second and third volumes of *Old Latin Biblical Texts*. The next summer I was ordained in Rochester diocese, and had no time to spare away from my curacy at Oxted; but the following letter, written to Dr. Talbot,[1] and dated "St. Peter's Day, 1885," shows that Canon Wordsworth's methodical diligence had not slackened:—

"Monotonous but happy. Breakfast at 8; letters and news till 10; Cathedral till 11; Vulgate 11–1; dinner 1–2; Vulgate 2–5; tea 5–5.30; Cathedral 5.30–6.30; ride or drive 6.30–8.30; supper, such light books as one can digest; bed. . . . I have got Marsh of Exeter with me now for a month, acting as a sort of Vulgate secretary. We are nearing the end of St. Matthew, and hope to make a serious impression on St. Mark before he goes. Then Roper comes for August to continue the impression, and I hope to complete St. Mark. Farther I do not expect to get at present, for 5 hours does not suffice for more than 20 or 30 verses, and sometimes not so much, when there is any peculiarity in the problem."

As a matter of fact, so far from St. Mark being completed, it was not even begun that year, and the work did not proceed beyond the 20th chapter of St. Matthew. Soon came his appointment to the see of Salisbury,

[1] Now Bishop of Winchester.

and "the busy silence of the study," as Dean Church called it, had to be given up for practical work. Early in 1886, however, he wrote to me proposing that I should join him at Salisbury, devoting the greater part of my time to the Vulgate, but also helping in the diocese as a member of the Society of St. Andrew ; [1] and on Easter Monday in that year I went down to Salisbury to complete the necessary arrangements. My companion for that day was Dr. Peter Corssen, who had been engaged for some years on Vulgate studies in Germany, and was then collating MSS. in the British Museum ; he naturally wished to make the acquaintance of the Bishop of Salisbury, and to ascertain what progress was being made with the English edition. The result of his visit was another pleasant friendship, which tended to co-operation rather than to rivalry ; but ultimately Dr. Corssen, drawn away to more classical studies, gave up his project of an independent critical edition of the Vulgate.[2]

In August, 1886, I came to take up residence at Salisbury and to give myself, under the Bishop's guidance, to that delightful study at which I have worked ever since, and hope to work till the end of my life. For the first year I lived in the Palace and was able to give a considerable amount of time to the Vulgate ; then the Bishop appointed me Vice-Principal of the Theological College, and from that time onward College duties were a first charge upon me. Still I managed, as a rule, to get more

[1] See p. 200.

[2] Dr. Corssen's contributions to the study of the Vulgate and Old-Latin versions have been numerous and valuable ; they comprise the *Epistula ad Galatas* (Berlin, 1885) ; the dissertation on the text of the *Trierer Ada-Handschrift* (*Publikationen der Gesellschaft für rheinische Geschichtskunde*, No. VI. ; 1889) ; *Monarchianische Prologe zu den vier Evangelien ; ein Beitrag zur Gesch. des Kanons* (*Texte u. Untersuchungen*, XV. Band, Heft I. ; Leipzig, 1896) ; *Bericht ber die lateinischen Bibelübersetzungen* (*Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der class. Altertumswissenschaft* ; Leipzig, 1899) ; etc., etc.

than half the morning at the Vulgate in Term time, and nearly all in Vacation; but the rate of progress dropped from the original twenty or thirty verses a day to an average of five or six. One room was reserved, as far as could be, for the work; and every table in it and most of the available chairs were covered with books, collations, and manuscripts. The Palace library was large and well selected; self-denying as the Bishop was in most ways, he spent lavishly on books; second-hand catalogues always had an irresistible attraction for him, and he seldom returned from a foreign holiday without two or three Early Latin Bibles; books of reference too were bought as soon as the need for them was felt. I can speak feelingly on this point, for in his kind forethought he bequeathed to me by his will any of his books that I might find useful for continuing the work; and I have nearly all I want. More important, he showed me what books to consult and how to use them; to work with him was indeed a liberal education; and perhaps the most valuable lesson I learnt from him was never to take the references in a footnote for granted, but always to look them up and see whether they really said what they were supposed to say. The books which were the greatest help to us from the beginning were Goelzer's *Latinité de Saint Jérôme*, Draeger's *Historische Syntax der lateinischen Sprache*, Neue's *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*, Hand's *Tursellinus*, Roby's Latin Grammar, Kaulen's *Geschichte der Vulgata* and *Handbuch zur Vulgata*, and Roensch's *Itala und Vulgata*; but naturally Dictionaries and Concordances were constantly consulted, and the Bishop knew that the most valuable instrument in the hands of a scholar is a good Concordance.[1]

[1] I am glad to bear testimony to the excellence of Dutripon's Concordance to the Vulgate; I have used it now for many years and have hardly ever come across an omission or a mistake in it.

A division of labour was soon decided on. Any one who has studied the large critical edition of the Vulgate will have seen that in the majority of cases there is practically no doubt as to the reading, and that the business of the editors is to give the authorities for each variation as clearly as possible, with such references as may throw light on the subject and vindicate the reading adopted. This part of the work was the more laborious; it does not indeed take long to arrange the variations of MSS. in a verse; but to collect and verify the Patristic quotations would be slow work even if the Fathers were all well indexed; and as most of them are very badly indexed,[1] the performance of this most necessary task takes up an amount of time out of all proportion to the visible result; "*Augustinus* (*semper*)" does not take long to read, or to write, after a word; but it takes a great deal of research to be able to write it with any confidence. This collection of data became the part of the work for which I was responsible; it was, as I have said, the more laborious part; but it was also the easier, the more elementary, the more mechanical; it could be soon learnt, and was just the proper work and training for a beginner. Far harder was the task of deciding on the right reading where the authorities were evenly balanced, where MSS. of the same family parted company, or where the vast majority of MSS. favoured a piece of impossible Latinity. This was the Bishop's share; I would prepare the case, and he would decide on the reading. This would usually mean re-writing the whole note, in any important case; and it would be fairly correct to say that in the earlier fasciculi all the short notes are mine, and all the long ones are the Bishop's. Yet the division was not absolute;

[1] This is true not only of the early editions but of some quite modern work; *e.g.* the index to Cyprian in the Vienna *Corpus Scr. Eccl. Latinorum* leaves much to be desired.

constantly his eye for literary neatness and his sound scholarship would suggest a better arrangement in a short note or add just the one reference to a classical author which would make it complete; while he would always listen with patience and attention to my views on questions of reading and the general arrangement of the work. Throughout our long and happy partnership he was absolutely frank, whether in pointing out mistakes, and mistakes which I ought not to have made, or in giving credit for anything good in what I did; at times, indeed, he would adopt my suggestions with an alacrity that was almost embarrassing.

Most of the *Praefatio* and of the *Epilogus* to the Gospels was written by the Bishop or, more strictly speaking, dictated. In Latin composition he would sometimes dictate as rapidly as I could write, while at other times he would hesitate for long until he had found exactly the right word or expression; and he never despised the use of an English-Latin dictionary, if it would save time.

So the work went on for nine happy years. It was perhaps inevitable that it should grow as it proceeded; the footnotes became longer and longer, mainly by the inclusion of the Old-Latin readings, and (in Acts and Romans) of quotations from the Fathers; the readings of the Old-Latin MSS. were introduced sparingly in St. Matthew and St. Mark, more fully in St. Luke, and completely (I trust) in St. John. I think, though I am not certain, that this was one of the cases in which the Bishop yielded to my pleadings, and that he himself would have preferred a less exhaustive *apparatus criticus*; and there is no doubt that the edition would have progressed more rapidly had the other New Testament books been done on the same scale as St. Matthew and St. Mark. But on this point I am impenitent; the later fasciculi are, for purposes

of reference, much more useful than the earlier, and I rarely consult the first two Gospels without wishing they had been treated on the St. John scale.

Even with the smaller *apparatus* the work took much longer than the Bishop anticipated. When I came to Salisbury he was hoping that the Gospels might be completed in a year's time, and the rest of the New Testament at an even quicker pace. Yet St. Matthew was not published till 1889; then followed St. Mark in 1891; St. Luke in 1893; St. John in 1895; the *Epilogus*, completing the first volume, in 1898. This first volume, containing the Gospels, was dedicated by permission to Queen Victoria; a copy was also presented to Pope Leo XIII., and was acknowledged by him in a letter so gracious that it aroused the alarm of the more Protestant Church newspapers. But the progress of the edition was further delayed by other calls upon the Bishop's time and energy; the later chapters of this biography will show how constant and increasing these calls were. It is true that as years went on I became able to do more by myself; but still his supervision and correction were always needed. He would come into the Vulgate room whenever he could, and at a moment's notice throw the best of himself into the work. Knotty points were also discussed during country walks; and sometimes when he was in the midst of other business he would surprise his companions with a remark or question which showed where his mind was. One day on going to service in the Cathedral he suddenly asked a country rector if he could remember any cases of ellipse of the predicate in the Latin New Testament. The following extracts from a speech delivered as late as 1903 collect and express conclusions which had been gathering in his mind during many years, and had often been discussed with me and with other friends :—

[1] "The Bishop said that reference had been made to the work which Mr. White and himself had been doing for some years. That study had certainly brought home some general principles to his mind. No two persons could have a greater respect or regard for St. Jerome than Mr. White and himself; but St. Jerome constantly irritated them by his superficiality and his neglect of that principle of using the same word in Latin for the same word in Greek. . . . If St. Jerome had followed it his version would have been a very much better one than it actually was. He did not, as he ought to have done, *re-translate* the New Testament. He was afraid of his contemporaries, and that timidity on his part had cost the Church more than he (the Bishop) could possibly say. If he had re-translated the New Testament with that power of expression of which he was a great master, he would have done a service to the Church higher than we could easily estimate. He would not say that the Reformation would not have been necessary, but he would say that St. Paul would have been understood by the early Christians in the Western Church, and would have been appreciated and loved and used when, owing to the fact that St. Jerome only used a very imperfect translation of St. Paul's Epistles, and did not properly revise the translation so made, St. Paul was never properly understood in the Western Church until the Reformation. He did not mean to say that there were no great men who understood him; but St. Paul's arguments and ideas did not penetrate into the masses of the people as they might have done. There was another thing, suggested to him by what Mr. Bebb said, 'Oh, if we could only interrogate St. Jerome for a few minutes!' That was a feeling Mr. White and himself often had. If he had only made it unnecessary for them to interrogate him, by not using vague generalities, by telling them plainly what he had done and what he had not done, and further by informing them not only that he had used old manuscripts, but where they came from, and the dates, and the rest of it!"

Still further delay was caused, I am afraid, by my

[1] Speech at Bristol Church Congress, 16th October, 1903; see Salisbury *Diocesan Gazette*, 1903, p. 200.

removal to Oxford in 1895, when I was appointed Chaplain and Tutor of Merton College. From that time onwards, and when I left Oxford for King's College, London, in 1905, we could only meet together for work in the Vacations. In the summer I would come to Salisbury, stay at the Church House, collect the necessary books round me, and get through a respectable amount of the text; and the Bishop would escape from letters and Diocesan business at the Palace, and join me whenever he could. His memory and powers of concentration were wonderful; when he came into my room he seemed always to remember the exact spot at which we had left off the last time, and I have known him leave the Church House with a half-finished sentence on his lips and come back the next day finishing it. During Term time, I continued the work at Oxford or in London and sent him the copy, chapter by chapter, to Salisbury; this he would read very carefully, paying especial attention to passages I had marked; and he would return it with a promptitude not always shown in his general correspondence; arguments or explanations which had been put forward in rather clumsy English came back, if he approved of them, in most excellent Latin. Similarly with the proof sheets; he would leave the verification of the data and references to me; but he had an eagle eye for misprints, awkward punctuation, uneven type, etc., and he had an instinctive sense of how a footnote ought to run, and how it could be corrected with a minimum of disturbance to the type. Printers are not immaculate, even at the Clarendon Press, and occasionally some sheet would contain a really awkward blunder. On such occasions the Bishop was, I think, genuinely happy. He loved to calculate the number of lines and letters, and utilise the space to be saved or filled up to the best advantage; and more than one piece of valuable information in the notes owes its

position to the fact that three or four lines had been cancelled, and the space could not be left vacant.

But it was slow work; the Acts were not published till 1905, and the Epistle to the Romans appeared in 1913, two years after his death; the large amount of prefatory matter to the Pauline Epistles in Vulgate MSS. took years to collect and arrange; but it was so valuable that it could not be neglected in any edition aiming at completeness. The Bishop spent many an hour over the proofs, though he did not live to see the fasciculus published, and the *Romans* represents a great deal of his work, indeed of his very best work.

Another circumstance delayed the publication of this fasciculus by two years; this was the preparation of the *editio minor*. In 1907 and 1908 the British and Foreign Bible Society began negotiations with the Bishop and the Clarendon Press for the issue of a hand-edition of the Vulgate New Testament, the text of which was to be that of the Oxford critical edition; it was not, however, till 1910 that the work was definitely taken in hand. The edition was to contain our text, as printed in the *editio maior*, up to the end of the Romans; after that, it was decided to form a provisional text on the basis of some eight or nine of the MSS. which experience had taught us to consider most valuable; and short footnotes were to be added throughout, giving the authorities for the more important variant readings. The preparation of this edition lay almost entirely in my hands, though I must acknowledge with thanks the help given by Mr. Youngman and other friends in the correction of the proof sheets.[1]

[1] The *editio minor* was published both by the Bible Society and by the Clarendon Press; *Novum Testamentum Latine secundum editionem S. Hieronymi ad codicum manuscriptorum fidem recensuerunt † Joh. Wordsworth, S.T.P. . . . et H. J. White, A.M., S.T.P. Editio minor curante Henrico J. White. Oxonii: e typographeo Clarendoniano. Londini: apud Societatem Bibliophilorum Britannicam et externam MDCCCCXI.*

The Bishop was also consulted on all the harder questions of reading, and he took the deepest interest in the work, reading the proofs regularly and expressing himself with all his wonted decision on every unnecessary comma or capital letter. He had promised to write the Latin preface, and in the second week of August, 1911, I forwarded him the material; but on the morning of the 16th his chaplain returned it with a note to say that the Bishop was too tired to undertake the task; and before the note was delivered in London I had received a telegram with the news of his death.

No chapter on the Vulgate can close without some reference to the enterprise now undertaken by the Benedictine Order, in the preparation of a critical edition of the whole Bible; though the new Catholic Encyclopædia prints a full account of that enterprise without a word of reference to the work of the Bishop of Salisbury.

In the spring of 1907 it was announced that Pius X. had determined to begin preparations for a critical edition of the Latin Bible; the need for such a revision had been recognised in the Church of Rome for some time, and in fact it had formed one item in the programme of the Biblical Commission established by Leo XIII. In May, 1907, the Benedictine Order were formally requested by Pius X. to undertake the first stages of the revision; and the Order accepted the arduous but honourable task; Abbot (now Cardinal) Gasquet was appointed the head of a small Commission of Benedictines to organise the work. They have, in accordance with the Pope's wishes, begun an exhaustive examination of the European libraries, so as to get, as far as may be, a complete catalogue of all existing Vulgate MSS.; and they are systematically collating or photographing the most important of them. The results of their work are stored in the College of

St. Anselmo at Rome, which must now contain the finest collection of Vulgate material in Europe. No revised text of any book of the Bible has, however, been published so far; and considering the colossal scale on which the work is being planned, it is not likely that much can be published in the way of results for many years to come.

CHAPTER VIII

FIRST DAYS AT SALISBURY—THE IDEA OF THE EPISCOPAL OFFICE

THE offer of the see had been quite unexpected, and the Wordsworths had spent the Saturday, on the evening of which it reached them, in contradicting the news of the appointment, which the *Standard* had somehow obtained and announced. The spirit in which he accepted it is shown in his letter to the Warden of Keble.[1]

"You can judge with what a weight of anxiety it was done. My heart was in a tumult and the services and sermon had to be gone through as usual. One's own utter worthlessness so oppressive, and yet the consciousness of never having wished, much less moved a finger to bring it about was a relief. And God has been so good to me all my life in the midst of many sins that I could not think Him failing now; but perhaps it is only that the punishment, when it comes, may be more severe—the punishment of failure and the remorse for taking a place that some one would have filled better. I think this is what I most dread, and most should want you to pray may not be the case, for the sake of the Church even more than mine. The break-up of old ties is terrible. We never know how much we draw from our surroundings. The wealth of love and sympathy here and at Oxford has enabled us to wear a greater show of strength than we really possess; and then to have to direct and to decide difficult points without *you* at hand to talk it over will be very hard. You are like a book on the shelf—a comfort even when not read."

[1] Now Bishop of Winchester. Dated 17th August, 1885.

By the same post Mrs. Wordsworth wrote to Mrs. Talbot :—

"I don't think I ever felt so miserable, so utterly and entirely inadequate. I know it sounds faithless, and John keeps saying, 'As thy day, so shall thy strength be,' but then one thinks one must have been acting a part even to get into the danger of such a position. You will, I know, pray for us. I don't think you ever saw two more deplorable beings. The people here are all so good and kind; there is a perfect wail at losing us. But how shall I leave Oxford? . . . How shall I ever manage a dinner party? Or a man servant?"

Such fears sound strange in view of her success as a leader and a hostess in the diocese and the palace. In a somewhat lighter mood she wrote to a sister-in-law :—

"Surely this is one of life's mysteries. Here am I, totally unable to decline a position for which I know I am most unfit, physically and mentally, not to say morally. It is very strange, and yet I have to look at it as a call. I hope, as Mr. Sewell [1] used to say at whist, 'Do give your partner credit for some good cards, Susie, and trust to his play to pull you through,' that John will be enough for both of us. At present I fear I shall only pull him down."

The future Bishop presents another aspect of the case to a Brasenose colleague, Mr. C. A. Whittuck [2] :—

"Your most kind and generous letter is a great help to me. I cannot answer it at length as I could wish. You can easily imagine how strange and weak and unfit I feel, yet I venture to throw myself on God's mercy in undertaking this heavy charge. I know from the inside what it is, and at least, I trust, have no feelings of elation about it. When a man has neither parents nor children he estimates life perhaps more honestly and simply as a small space of probation in which

[1] Either the founder of Radley, or his brother, the Warden of New College.

[2] Now Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford. Dated "in the train," 24th August, 1885.

God is disciplining us for something better. If I had children I should probably be very ambitious or at least anxious. Now we feel (for you know what my wife is) that we have merely to do the best we can, with God's help, and take no thought for the morrow. I have written more than I wished about myself, but your kind letter seemed to draw it."

He was consecrated in Westminster Abbey on the day of St. Simon and St. Jude, the 28th October, which was the first anniversary of his mother's death.[1] Canon Jelf, he records, preached "a good sermon,[2] in a clear, nice voice, and every one was most kind and loving."

On the 30th October he did homage to Queen Victoria at Balmoral.

"With his sense of the fitness of things and dignity of office he sent in a request to her Majesty that he might come and pay homage in his robes. The usual custom, I believe, was that after dinner the Bishops went in in evening dress, which he thought unseemly. The Queen quite liked and approved of the idea. Probably they always do that ceremoniously now." [3]

At Balmoral he began to copy his father's book of private devotions. This volume, which he copied again in 1890, recorded names of kinsfolk and friends whom the younger man can never have known and distant incidents in the lives of Wordsworths and Freres. In prayer and intercession it was often quaint and even strained, and it contained many apophthegms, original as well as borrowed. Altogether it was characteristic of Christopher

[1] By Archbishop Benson, Bishops Temple of London, Browne of Winchester, Thorold of Rochester, Ridding of Southwell, King of Lincoln, and Trollope of Nottingham, his father's suffragan.

[2] The Strength of the Bishop and the Church (Isa. lii. 1). A sermon preached . . . at the consecration of the Lord Bishop of Salisbury by George Edward Jelf, M.A., Canon of Rochester and Rector of Chatham. Published by request. London, Walter Smith, 1885.

[3] From the Rev. G. F. Hooper, St. Oswald's, Worcester, a very intimate friend of the Bishop. His homage was at 10.30 a.m.

and not of John Wordsworth. All was dutifully copied, and a corresponding record of the son's own life and interests made on the opposite page, which was being enriched till the end of his life. The most important part of the father's book was a list of "Agenda σὺν Θεῷ," which the son loyally took for his own guidance. None of them is more significant than the last:—

"N.B. never to say 'my diocese,' 'my clergy.' They are not thine, but Christ's. Say 'Diocese of Lincoln,' etc."

This direction was scrupulously followed by Bishop John Wordsworth, sometimes even at the cost of awkwardness or circumlocution. In his last public letter to the clergy and laity, on Ascension Day, 1911, he spoke of "our examining chaplains"; the plural here is not of majesty.

The Bishop went down to Salisbury and was enthroned on the 4th November. Mrs. Wordsworth's letters to her friends picturesquely describe the scene.

"The weather was most unkindly, but a bright gleam shone upon him as he entered the throne. It was a very impressive service, and he looked grand in his great scarlet robe.[1] It was very touching to hear his father's hymn, 'Hark! the sound of holy voices,' come nearer and nearer up the nave,[2] and it was very wonderful to see him kneeling at the altar. . . ."

There was an unexpected ceremony in the service. As a son of Christopher Wordsworth and a friend of Bishop Benson he had naturally studied the statutes of his Cathedral, and he found himself directed by them to perform an act that had long been pretermitted. He did not flinch.

"The kiss given by Bishop to Dean and Chapter in the

[1] His father's Cambridge Convocation robe, which is really a cope.
[2] It was sung again at his funeral.

MRS. WORDSWORTH

(1885).

From a photograph by Elliott & Fry.

Chapter House I am almost glad I did *not* see," writes Mrs. Wordsworth. "It must have been so very funny, but you can hardly realise how delighted they all were at getting it. Generally it has been confined to the Dean, but as the instructions are 'Dean and Chapter,' he went bravely through.[1] Then came the great Mayor's lunch; every one charmed with his speech, and he had no notes even, and when he got up he didn't in the least know what he was going to say, but as you will see it was very good. Then a tremendous gathering to meet him in the old Church House, and then it was time to think of the Pastoral for the next day, so he went back to the Palace and I grieve to say sat up till 2.30 writing it."

The "Pastoral" was to be the chief topic of his address to the Greater Chapter, a body which he took very seriously throughout his episcopate. The revival of this "Consilium Episcopi" was, indeed, one of the "Agenda σὺν Θεῷ" which he borrowed from his father. He summoned them to meet in the Chapter House on the day after the enthronement.

"As many of them came from many miles away," Mrs. Wordsworth wrote, "he thought he could not ask them to come again, and so consulted them then. The sight had not been seen for over a hundred years of a Bishop addressing his Greater Chapter. Forty-eight, I think they were, dear old things from all corners of Wilts and Dorset."

He submitted to them the letter he proposed to address to the diocese. It was cast in the form of a Pauline epistle.

"To the Reverend the Clergy, the Churchwardens, the Synodsmen, and the whole brotherhood of Christian people within the Diocese of Salisbury, John, by Divine permission, Bishop of Salisbury, greeting. Grace to you and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost be multiplied. I thank God always, Brethren beloved in the Lord, for your steadfastness

[1] At the enthronement of Dr. F. E. Ridgeway, 8th November, 1911, "Welcome was given by shaking of hands."

in the faith and union in works of love of which I hear in every quarter, so that now for many years you are an example to the flock of Christ."

So it began. It dealt, in view of an impending General Election, with the right use of the pulpit at such times, with the questions of establishment and endowment, with the restoration of churches, giving a warning, more necessary then than now, of—

" the danger lest anything that does not suit the taste of the day should be sold or even destroyed as of no account. We must not despise the last century because it is not the thirteenth century, much less must we destroy the work of the period of the Reformation and Restoration."

But the most characteristic announcement was that of his views concerning patronage ; views which he had the satisfaction of seeing generally approved, and ultimately embodied in legislation. But, though others sympathised, Bishop John Wordsworth was the first to take the risk of action.

" I think that further restriction of the rights of patronage, whether public or private, is absolutely essential to the well-being of the Church, and that this is a proper time to claim it. I would not abolish patronage, or give it to the dioceses or parishes, but I would give them at least the right to make representations and to be heard in opposition to an appointment of which they disapproved. . . . I myself see difficulties in wholly forbidding the sale of advowsons, but I would require such sales to be always publicly registered, and if I had the power I would not allow a patron to present himself. I would wholly forbid the sale of next presentations or of the life interest in advowsons, and I would of course make all donatives presentative. As a proof of my own willingness to act and to take responsibility in this matter, I will mention what I intend to do in the case of every clerk presented to me for institution. I shall defer institution in all cases for the twenty-eight days in which a Bishop is allowed by the canon to make

objection to a patron's nomination. I shall equally do so in cases when I myself collate to a benefice. I shall endeavour in this period to acquaint myself with the whole past history of the clerk, so presented to me, since his ordination. If I have reason to doubt his fitness I shall make free use of my legal right to examine him as to the sufficiency of his knowledge and the soundness of his faith. I shall endeavour also to devise some plan for giving the communicants of the parish to which he is nominated an opportunity of making any valid legal objection, since their interest in the matter so far surpasses that of any other persons, except indeed that of the Bishop. For, my Brethren, I need not remind you that Institution is a very solemn act by which a Bishop delegates to another a portion of the spiritual jurisdiction and oversight committed to himself; and if he admits an unworthy man he is responsible in the sight of God.[1] I feel sure that most Patrons only need to be reminded of this once for all, and that when once they understand it they will do their best to help a Bishop in bearing the heavy burden laid upon him. For my own part, I am prepared, if need be, to suffer loss in resisting improper appointments if any such should be attempted, feeling sure that, even if I should be mulcted by a Civil Court the Church will be a hundredfold the gainer, and that, according to our Master's promise, I should not be a loser even in this world."

It was a bold step for a new-fledged Bishop to announce a course of action, the necessity of which was not yet generally recognised, even among the well-disposed, and there was a real danger, as will appear, both of unpopularity and of litigation. In a footnote to the Pastoral Letter he assumed responsibility for its contents, though he says that "its spirit is generally, and I believe heartily, approved by the Chapter." Their share is more precisely indicated in a letter of the Bishop to his friend the Warden of Keble[2]:—

[1] There was something very impressive in the way he said, "Accipe curam meam et tuam" at an Institution.

[2] 14th November, 1885.

"Some things I had put more strongly, but modified them in deference to friends in the Chapter, where I succeeded in convincing them that I wanted not compliments but counsel. Of course I kept the result in my own hands by putting nothing to the vote. . . . I have constantly to repeat Marcus Aurelius' words, *βλέπε μὴ ἀποκαισαρωθῇς* (or *ἀποεπισκοπωθῇς*) *μὴ βαφῇς. γίνεται γάρ.*[1] But the sense of goodness and brotherly kindness all round us happily overpowers everything, and there are the scandals and weaknesses of the Church as well as one's own bad thoughts and blunders to keep one humble."

At this point it may be well to consider the Bishop's conception of the office on which he was entering; and, since his views never changed, it shall be illustrated from utterances of all periods of his episcopate. It was a very high one. On the doctrinal side it was that of St. Ignatius of Antioch; on the practical, there seemed to be no limit to its scope. For he had a profound belief not only in the opportunities of the office, but in the gifts of its occupants. He was convinced of their wisdom, knowledge, and energy, and also assured that they had a common outlook, which they shared with the prelates of the past. The confidence, indeed, with which he assumed that medieval Bishops, who were statesmen or soldiers, had the same range of interests as himself was sometimes astonishing. In this loyalty to his order there was something of heroic illusion; but when he could not admire their conduct he was sterner against Bishops than against other men. If a Bishop fell short of the standard, or if a person unequal to the task accepted the office, Bishop Wordsworth's censure was grave.

Bishops for him were a class, and must behave as a class. His ideal for the government of the Church was that of Archbishop Benson, not that of Archbishop Tait.

[1] *Comment.* vi. 30. "See that thou be not transformed into a (mere) Emperor—or Bishop—lest thou be stained. The thing happens."

They must take counsel together,[1] and act together. In the words of the present Archbishop of Canterbury, "a Bishop's position in the Church of England of to-day is not a local one." [2] Holding this national position, and consulting together for the welfare of the Church, they are a cabinet,[3] and therefore must be few in number. Bishop Wordsworth certainly regarded an English diocesan Bishop as a figure equally conspicuous with a Cabinet Minister, and would express surprise and sorrow when a layman, or even a schoolboy, was ignorant of the name of one among the less prominent members of his order.

If diocesan Bishops must be few, their dioceses must be large. This he regarded as a thing desirable in itself. A Bishop ought to have behind him the weight of an important portion of the Church, that he may speak with its authority as well as his own; and if it be large, it will furnish him with an adequate field for the exercise

[1] In his earlier days Bishop Wordsworth had not fully learned this lesson, and the Archbishop vigorously inculcated it.

"Lambeth Palace,
"8th May, 1887.

"DEAREST BISHOP,

"You can't come to Bishops' meeting, because of engagements sometime made. But do let me remind you that the Bishops' meeting was fixed last July, and that you were supplied with a printed sheet—stating the same.

"And that if the Bishops set aside these solemn Church engagements for diocesan ones—there is no wonder that the Church is lacking in corporate life, and that the Parishes follow the example of the Diocesans—and live for themselves.

"Do excuse me for saying that I think it very sad indeed and fraught with evil omens.

"Ever your most affectionate,
"EDW. CANTUAR."

[2] From a letter in Dr. Mason's *Life of Bishop Wilkinson*, II., p. 4.

[3] I owe this illustration to a late honoured friend, Mr. J. R. Williams of Chester, and of Treffos in Anglesey, sometime representative of the diocese of Bangor in the House of Laymen. Though I do not remember the Bishop using it, it exactly describes his view.

of his function as a teacher. England is happy, he thought, in having dioceses which are both considerable in area and graced with historical associations. He was not averse from a moderate increase in their number. He preached, for instance, on behalf of the revived see of Bristol, but he did his best to detach from it and restore to Salisbury the 81 parishes and 80,000 souls of North Wilts whom the Ecclesiastical Commission had separated from their original see. In 1892 he printed for private circulation a "Memorandum on the possible reunion of the deaneries of Malmesbury, Chippenham, and Cricklade in the County of Wilts with the Diocese of Salisbury," in which he sets forth his reasons. They are more briefly given in some private memoranda written in 1890 :—

"In his [Bishop Denison's] days the diocese underwent a great change. Up till the reign of Henry VIII. and the foundation of the Bishopric of Bristol in 1542 the diocese consisted of the three counties Berks, Wilts, and Dorset. Henry VIII. detached Dorset and united it to Bristol. In 1837 Berks was attached to Oxford, carrying with it, as many think unfairly, the Chancellorship of the Garter, and Dorset was reunited very properly to Wilts. The great mistake was to separate the deaneries of Malmesbury and Chippenham in North Wilts from the rest of the county. I believe that this has injured the life of the diocese much more than would at first sight be easily conceived. The distraction of county interests from diocesan is a lamentable cause of coldness among those who look to the more secular side of things, and especially the loss of a great town like Swindon, as a training place for clergy and a sphere for all sorts of diocesan works of piety and mercy, can never be too much deplored. That Malmesbury and Lacock should be separated from Salisbury is miserable,[1] not to say humiliating. We have lost much too in losing Berkshire, and perhaps Berkshire has never thoroughly been united to its new allies. It will no doubt some day have a see of its own to make up to it,

[1] Both have important monastic remains.

but I fear that there is no hope of recovering our Alsace and Lorraine, as Bishop Moberly used to call them, in North Wilts. Nor do I wish to see a county see in either Wilts or Dorset by itself. Dorset has, however, thank God! become firmly united to the see."

Even in 1904 he resumed the topic in a sermon in his Cathedral,[1] and had found a fresh reason for regret.

"Bishop Denison, in his first Visitation Charge, delivered in 1839, referred to this severance as one for which he saw 'no adequate reason,' and stated that he, in common with all parties locally concerned, endeavoured to preserve the integrity of the county and the old ecclesiastical organisation, but in vain. Bishops of Salisbury have, I think, always had the same feeling since on this subject, and the recent development of local government, and the stimulus given to county patriotism,[2] have increased the regret which Churchmen may naturally feel at this dismemberment of the county."

He was willing, then, even to welcome an increase of his responsibilities. When, towards the end of his life, it was suggested, perhaps rather irresponsibly, that steps should be taken for the creation of a diocese of Dorset, his dislike for such a scheme was so well known that its authors, discreetly if not quite courteously, launched it without informing the Bishop. He had no mind to be what "S. G. O.," himself a Dorset incumbent, had called a "gig-Bishop," busily engaged in perambulating a narrow district, a great man in small matters, lost in a crowd of prelates none of whom carried decisive weight in the counsels of the Church. The outcome of such a system would be an almost papal predominance of Canterbury; and against what seemed encroachments from that quarter he was, we shall see, quite ready to protest. But he did not take the burden lightly. He

[1] *Diocesan Gazette*, 1904, p. 204: sermon of 16th October.
[2] By the County Councils Act.

recognised that it was his duty to acquire a full personal knowledge of parishes and clergy, and thanks to assiduous visitation and an excellent memory he did in fact attain it. He could also, in his detached position, turn his knowledge to account. He would imperturbably insist, in spite of local outcries, upon the union, which he knew to be desirable, of two small parishes. The greatness of his station enabled him to disregard the prejudices of the moment and the agitation of local celebrities. The same detachment led him (sometimes not without inflicting hardship) to prefer the interest of a parish to that of an elderly incumbent who wished to retire from his work. He was apt in such cases to refuse or to diminish the expected pension. He looked at such problems broadly, regarding the general and not the particular interest.

But he also attempted with much seriousness what seemed to him the higher duty of moulding his diocese, and giving it a corporate conscience and a common ideal. That was a task not rendered more difficult by the numbers to whom he made his appeal; the number only made the appeal better worth making. He made it the more earnestly because he idealised the relation between Bishop and people. Addressing his Synod of clergy in 1888 he gives his reason for not making a formal oration :—

"We meet to-day as quite old friends—old and attached friends, I think—and, as you all know, it is the privilege of friends not to talk very much when they meet. Our friendship, of course, is very different from the friendship of men of the world, or of persons who are united only by the ordinary ties which join man to man. It is not a friendship which comes from early associations and similarity of taste or unity of interests in business associations, or social expediency; it is a friendship which comes to us from a sense of being under a law and principle of discipline, which principle of discipline is part of the eternal fitness of things. We are naturally lifted above the concerns of this life into the life of

God, and therefore our friendship in meeting on this occasion is not like a mere shell or husk which will be thrown off as soon as we leave this place, but it is something which has an abiding presence with us and accompanies us when we enter into our chambers and kneel down before God, or when we kneel side by side, as dear Mr. Barnes [1] said, 'the knower speechless to the known.'"

Twenty years later he gave to the Synod of Clergy, assembled after the Lambeth Conference of 1908 to consider its resolutions, a reasoned exposition of the relation between Bishop and clergy as he conceived it, and drew a vigorous moral. He is explaining why, for the third time, he has summoned such an assembly:—

"This regular consultation of the clergy is not merely an accident or a tradition. It permeates, as a principle, the conception which I hold of our office, and which I have endeavoured to inculcate on yourselves. It has been one of the principal aims of my episcopate to make new clergy feel when they come to be instituted to a benefice or licensed to a curacy that they are, of their own free will, joining a religious society or brotherhood. This thought I am in the habit of connecting, as many here will remember, with the oath of 'canonical obedience.' According to my interpretation that oath is taken to the Bishop, as superior of the Society of which the beneficed and licensed clergy are members, in one word, are canons or canonical persons, not monks. 'Canonical obedience' is a moral and personal thing like 'true obedience.' It is obedience such as befits a canonical person. It is not obedience to the rules or canons of the Church, as some, rather trivially, explain it. These rules are binding on the clergy, whether a man promise to obey them or not. The word 'canonical' is, in this sense, derived from *κανών*, signifying a roll or register, rather than from *κανών* in the sense of a rule. Canonical obedience is that due from a man on the clerical roll to him whose name stands at the head of it, under whom he chooses to place himself. No doubt many come into the

[1] The Dorset poet.

Society in an accidental and almost careless way, though others, thank God, do not. It is my business to see that, however they come, they know what they are doing as soon as possible, and realise the duties and responsibilities of this holy fellowship. Much may be done to illustrate this reality through careful visitations, through the constant brotherly activity of Archdeacons and Rural Deans, through the *Diocesan Gazette*, and many other like ways. But surely no way is so sure—though from the nature of the case it cannot be a very frequent opportunity—as a Synod such as we hold to-day, when all have the right to come, when we meet for a common Eucharist, common prayers, common counsel, and as far as possible for a simple, common meal.

* * * * *

"If time allowed I should like to develop this thought of our diocesan brotherhood and its relation to other ties. Such ties, of course, exist, binding us all to the Province, the National Church, the Anglican Communion, the Catholic Church of Christ. But the best way generally of realising these ties is to be true to the immediate claims upon us. 'He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much.' To be unjust in regard to our diocesan brotherhood at the bidding of party societies, large or small, or in the interest of some theory, is to be unjust to the whole Church. Partisan societies, partisan religious publications have become the noxious solvents of clerical brotherhood and the enemies of united progress. Such societies may have once served some purpose in organising opinion with some energy when a sense of corporate life in the Church was decayed. Now that corporate life is visibly growing they are an anachronism, and I believe that many of the younger clergy perceive this, and are wisely abstaining from joining them. I wish some of the elder ones would cease from blowing their old-fashioned trumpets and waving their worn-out banners. I wish also that some of the younger clergy did not now and then claim exemption from obedience to the plain directions and the yet plainer traditions of the Church of England, and defend themselves by appeal to what they call Catholic rule and custom. Immediate Church authority—speaking in a reasonable and fatherly manner—

is to us the voice of the Catholic Church, unless, indeed, we are believers in Vaticanism."

That "immediate Church authority" was himself. He conceived that he had the duty, and also the ability, to guide the minds of clergy and also, so far as their case demanded it, of laity, and that on them lay a corresponding duty of accepting the guidance. Hence his hostility to journals and organisations which furnished the clergy with ideas inferior, he was sure, to those which he was supplying. If the double task, of supervision and of instruction, might seem overwhelming, as much might be said of other exacting offices. A diocesan Bishop, like an Attorney-General, by the act of assuming his functions asserts that he has the physical strength needed for their execution. Bishop Wordsworth would not have asked for pity, or have made over-work an excuse for ineffectiveness. His ideal was perhaps impossible of attainment. Perhaps also he did not take into account, in a scheme of governance which he deemed might be universal for the Church of England, of defects of knowledge in some cases and of failure in health or energy in others. The comfort which Dr. Pusey is said to have given to a clergyman distressed by some utterance of Bishop Blomfield, that the theology of one who for many years has spent eight hours a day in business need not be taken too seriously, may still have its relevance. Grave difficulties may arise if dioceses, or even provinces of the Church, be moulded too perfectly after the pattern imposed upon them by some resolute leader. In spite of all, Bishop Wordsworth's was a noble ideal, religiously conceived and courageously attempted.

But the Bishop was not, in his earlier days, content to guide the judgment of the clergy; he wanted also personally to supervise the morals of their flock. In drawing up the articles of inquiry for his first Visitation,

that of 1888, he consulted various forms in use elsewhere, and in one of them, that for the Lincolnshire Archdeaconry of Stow, he found a question that had been put in 1827, but which sounds thoroughly Jacobean. As adapted by the Bishop it ran :—

"Are there any persons in your parish of scandalous life and conversation, whose cases should be reported to the Bishop [Canon 109] ? Detailed answers to this question should be written on a separate paper and presented to the Bishop in a sealed envelope at the time of the Visitation."

The question, when it was distributed among the churchwardens, excited quite a storm. The Bishop might have foreseen this, for his Chancellor, Sir J. P. Deane, had warned him. But he had not been convinced. He wrote to Sir James Deane [1] :—

"I am now pretty well acquainted with the churchwardens of this diocese, and I feel sure that in their answers they will be careful not to stir up bad blood. A Visitation is useless unless it tends to a better state of discipline than at present exists among us. I do not expect to get much on a first Visitation which is of value in reply to a question like this, but I believe, if God gives me strength to go on for a certain number of years, a gradual reform in public opinion may be worked in a small diocese like this where there is no town of over 15,000 people, except Salisbury, which is, I believe, under 16,000."

The experiment was not repeated.

[1] 9th February, 1888.

CHAPTER IX

SALISBURY, 1885–1894

BISHOP JOHN WORDSWORTH entered on his office at the early age of forty-two. He combined a settled conservatism in serious matters with an almost boyish readiness to make experiments. We have seen him improving upon Queen Victoria's custom in receiving the homage of her Bishops; nothing could have been more characteristic. When his seal had to be designed, he would have it unlike others. Normally a Bishop's seal bears his own arms and those of his see in pale, or side by side. For his, the Virgin of Salisbury was liberated from her shield; the Sistine Madonna stood with the three bells of the Wordsworths beneath her feet. The design was not less original and beautiful that there were certain medieval precedents. The Bishop worked the subject out, and made it the theme of a learned paper read before the Royal Archaeological Institute at its Salisbury meeting in 1887.[1] But his desire to initiate was not confined to matters of detail. At his enthronement he asked all who were present "for their counsel as to founding something which would be an inheritance for the future to fit in and correspond with their inheritance in the past." He wished to be the rival of medieval founders, and he was, in fact, to have his measure of success.

He sought a stimulus in the history of his diocese. From the first he identified himself with it. He never

[1] *Archaeological Journal*, xlv., pp. 22 ff.; reprinted, 1888.

spoke of Hooker but as "our great Salisbury theologian," and took an equal pride in calling to mind the fact that Jewell had been his own predecessor, and that Pearson, Barrow, and Butler had been prebendaries of Sarum. Perhaps at times he even combined their teaching with his own into something which might seem a characteristic local mode of thought. George Herbert, whose portrait he added to the Palace collection, had also this merit of a local connection, as had in the more distant past Hubert Walter and Robert Hallam, Bishops of Salisbury; and it was with special pleasure that in later life he deciphered at Jerusalem the tombstone of a crusader who had been castellan of Devizes.

This interest extended to all corners of the diocese, their forgotten worthies and their memorials of the past. He studied them with zeal during his visits, which were so actively pursued that within six years there were only sixteen churches and parishes with which he was not personally acquainted, and these small places annexed to others or else, in one or two cases, parishes so involved in difficulty that he could not wisely appear in them. The roomy carriage, drawn according to the dignified tradition of the see by two grey horses,[1] was a second home to both the Wordsworths. Of the friendships formed with clergy, connected with him by the canonical bond he rated so highly, the Bishop's notebooks give a record. The number of the children, their complexion, their schools, are constantly entered after a visit to some rectory; and I think that an increasing interest may be marked in his later years in those of modest fortune. The diocese when he entered it had, perhaps, a larger number than now of clergy whose estate was that of country gentlemen, and though it could not be said of Salisbury, as of another

[1] Constantine and Julian, named after his most important articles in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

diocese in the previous generation, that an honorary canon meant a clergyman who kept Jersey cows, the standing and the services of such men were worthily recognised. But Bishop Wordsworth came to note with special satisfaction in his private memoranda the successes of boys and girls who had won their way through difficulty and through sacrifice on their parents' part. His interest in parishes and in clergy was heightened by his old-world attitude of mind towards them. For him parish and priest formed an intimate combination. As to former generations "Jones of Nayland" or "Sikes of Guilsborough" had been significant terms, so was it with him.

But the centre of his interest was naturally his own home and its surroundings. A Bishop with a Cathedral of the Old Foundation has but a limited authority within its walls. Bishop Wordsworth, as it happened, was most happy in his relation with successive Deans and Canons. But the Cathedral rose, on one of its sides, directly out of his garden, and his Palace was worthy to be its neighbour. Miss Elizabeth Wordsworth has contributed a sketch, which will be of interest to readers who do not know Salisbury, of the home where, as she says, "it was his fate, as it is that of many other Bishops who have beautiful and venerable abodes, to spend comparatively little time."

"The Palace is a curious architectural patchwork, and illustrates what Ruskin said of the medieval builders, that when they wanted to make additions to, or alterations in, their houses, they just made them as it suited them, without any regard to symmetry. In fact, while the Cathedral is exceptional among English Cathedrals as having been the work of one period and being all, practically, of one style of architecture, the Palace is exactly the reverse. Here we find, in one fabric, the old Norman hall of Bishop Poore, the Late Gothic tower of Bishop Beauchamp, the chessboard-like fragments of old flint masonry here and there in the walls,

the handsome modern staterooms as restored by Bishops Sherlock and Barrington on the first floor, the antique and somewhat comfortless stone-paved servants' quarters below, the picturesque Jacobean staircase of Seth Ward which leads to the principal bedrooms, including one called the Queen's Bedroom [1] because once occupied by the then Princess Victoria. Approximately to the same date belongs the woodwork of the chapel, a building interesting in itself, and especially as having been the scene of the ordination of Bishop Butler to the diaconate. The north front of the house is somewhat unattractive, unless we people it with the events of some busy moments of arrival or departure—the Bishop's carriage and pair of greys—or in later days his motor—waiting, usually until the last moment, while he has that final interview or hastily subscribes that one last note or letter! Then in all haste he is whirled off to the railway station for the London train, or more likely to a church opening or confirmation at some remote point of the diocese.

"But if the northern front of the house is somewhat forbidding, the southern more than atones for it. The whole wall of the house is covered with magnolias, myrtles, pomegranates, pyrus japonica, and other creepers. The magnolias and pomegranates in particular flower here as they only do in very favoured corners of England. A flat terrace runs the length of the house, and is bordered on both sides by turf, in which are beds of the richest and most brilliant flowers expanding in the sunshine. Stone steps, stone balustrades, here and there a lichen-grown stone vase give an old-world air to the spot; as does a little fountain, with water-lilies and goldfish, in a stone basin beside the path and close to the balustrades. Beyond is a field, and a good-sized piece of water, the joy of winter skaters, and to the east a spacious kitchen garden. The starry celandine may be seen at the beech-tree roots in the early spring, and the garden never loses its loveliness till the last autumn rose has yielded to November frosts. Various quaint little staircases run up to the house from the terrace; there is a porch covered with pale clustering roses and the doves may be seen and heard in its neighbourhood.

"Among the windows which look out on the terrace and

[1] In this room Bishop Wordsworth died.

garden are those of the Bishop's study. If we had approached it from that side, we probably should have seen the big head surrounded with a halo of light, feathery hair, and the big black-coated figure, with its back to us, bending over the writing-table—a pile of books of reference on either side and the right hand hastily tracing in that familiar writing a few brief but carefully considered lines. Every bookcase was full to overflowing, but all was in careful order. Here were modern theological works; there patristic ones; here a large contingent of lexicons and encyclopedias; here classics; there history or *belles lettres*. In later years an entire bookcase was given over to Swedish and Scandinavian literature. The large central writing-table, an heirloom from Bishop Hamilton's days, having been a present to him from his uncle, 'Single-speech Hamilton,' was covered with methodically arranged papers; and many more were carefully stowed away in receptacles under the table. A sofa faced the fire, probably occupied by a couple of worn leather travelling bags, which were generally primed with the literature or maps necessary for diocesan visits. Other interesting souvenirs were old-fashioned chairs which had belonged to Dr. Pusey and Bishop Moberly. A cupboard full of pigeon-holes, the gift of Mr. Gladstone to Bishop Hamilton, was near the further door. On the top of the bookcase, facing the study chair, was a bronze helmet with an archaic Greek inscription—'To Olympian Jove'—which had belonged to the Bishop's father. The drawing-room, a large and handsome apartment, is, like the dining-room, full of portraits of earlier bishops, most of them wearing the insignia of the order of the Garter, which have now passed to the see of Oxford. Among these Burnet's handsome, dark-haired, and somewhat florid countenance is sure to catch the spectator's eye. Bishop Guest, to whom we owe a clause in the XXVIIIth Article, is also there in the attenuated lawn sleeves of his period. Henry Lawes, Milton's friend, though a layman is also represented, as well as Bishop Jewell, Bishop Davenant, George Herbert, and others [1]; and Sir W. Richmond's fine portrait of Bishop Moberly holds a

[1] The best is Beechey's portrait of Bishop Hume, who used the patronage of the see for the advancement of his family. The Bishop would often point out his keen and acquisitive features.

conspicuous place. The elder Richmond's portrait of Bishop Hamilton also deserves special notice; and to these in later years was added Sir George Reid's masterly portrait of Bishop John Wordsworth himself, painted for the diocese. In the dining-room was a copy of Pickersgill's portrait of the poet Wordsworth, an admirable likeness by Eddis of the Bishop's mother, and an oil-painting by W. Logsdail of the South Porch of Lincoln Cathedral with minute but very cleverly hit-off portraits of Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln and the artist's own father attending him as verger. The dining-room, like the drawing-room, extends the whole width of the house: in either case one window overlooks the garden, the other gives an unforgettable view of the Cathedral spire and the Chapter House, with a foreground of rich turf and cedar trees. To the spectator's left, as he gazes through this window, is the door into the cloisters; the door which in his last illness tradition says Bishop Hamilton saw in a dream, with our Saviour standing there and calling him in. Along the gravel walk which leads from the garden into the cloisters, the late Bishop might habitually be seen at 7.25 every morning, when at home, on his way to early Mattins, and on Sunday at 10.30, preceded by a choir boy, known as the 'Bishop's boy,' whose office it was to summon him. The black-robed figure with white sleeves and rochet and scarlet hood made a striking point of colour among the soft greens and greys of the garden and the weather-stained architecture, especially when accompanied by the boy in surplice, bare-headed, and with the ruffle round the neck which is a distinctive characteristic of the Salisbury chorister.

"The most interesting feature in the Palace will always be the chapel, which seems scarcely to have been touched since the seventeenth century. The old quarto leather-bound prayer-books contain prayers for our most gracious King George and Queen Charlotte. The skilful fingers of Miss Edith Moberly, the gifted daughter of the Bishop, have, however, lined the bare walls with paintings copied from early Italian masters and with tasteful embroidery. The chapel is arranged choirwise with 'return stalls' facing the altar for the Bishop and reader. Within the altar rails,[1] were

[1] Now in the chapel of St. Nicholas Hospital, Salisbury.

two plaster casts of the two sides of the Runic cross which marks the graves of Christopher and Susanna Hatley Wordsworth at Riseholme. A plain pastoral staff, with polished brass crook and oaken shaft, also belonging to his father, stood by the Bishop's stall, and there were other relics of Riseholme in the ante-chapel. It was in this chapel that Institutions were sometimes held and doubtless many other religious services of a public or private kind. In the ordinary household services, at morning prayer some admirable prayers written and selected by the Bishop for the various days of the week were used; in the evening the Prayer-book form of Evensong. It is to be regretted that none of the Bishop's short expositions after the morning or evening lesson have been preserved. They were always suggestive and never commonplace, singularly free from that banality which so often accompanies such utterances."

These pleasant surroundings harmonised with the quiet ideals, akin to those of Miss Yonge, and with the standard of beauty in which the Wordsworths had been trained.

"There is certainly a blessing on this house," wrote the Bishop,[1] "I suppose from the good people who have lived in it, and I often feel that it is especially the case with this study and Bishop Hamilton's table, at which I am now writing—where, by the by, Liddon wrote his beautiful memoir of him."

And he regarded his occupancy as a trust. He made it his business to restore the undercroft, which had long been doomed to base domestic uses, and it was with pride that it was thrown open at the first Cathedral Commemoration of benefactors in 1889. "It is very moving to have the honour of taking up Bishop Poore's work," he wrote,[2] "if it be his, as we suppose." Great hopes were entertained of diocesan usefulness for this low hall, but it was soon evident why the ancient Bishop had raised his Palace

[1] To the Warden of Keble, 14th January, 1887.
[2] To the same, 13th July, 1889.

on such a substructure. A flood came, the new floor burst up and the wooden blocks of the pavement were swimming in a melancholy fleet on stagnant water. They were soon more firmly fixed, but they have rebelled again, and Bishop Poore's hall has not fulfilled the expectations of its restorer.

The life within the home has been described for this book by a lady [1] who was closely associated with Mrs. Wordsworth in her good works. Her memories cover the whole period down to Mrs. Wordsworth's mortal illness in 1893.

"The earliest impression made upon my mind with regard to the Bishop's appointment to the see is that it was said that he would be the youngest Bishop on the bench. Certainly his vigour showed itself at once in the wonderful way in which he threw his energies into every kind of diocesan work, large and small. The Palace soon became a true home for the diocesan clergy and their families, as well as for the many men and women who were devoting their lives to the work of the Church. The happy home life there, brightened as it was by the loving-hearted gaiety and sense of humour of Mrs. Wordsworth, can hardly be understood by any who did not share in it, while those who took part in it will ever hold it in loving remembrance. In those early days life at the Palace was very informal, and after some meeting or diocesan gathering those staying in the house would share in the 'high tea' at which Mrs. Wordsworth presided, at which she would often give a racy account (with plenty of fun but never a word of malice) of what had been taking place, for the benefit of the Bishop and others who had not been at the meeting.

"From the first, the Bishop attached great importance to the work of women for the Church. The Girls' Friendly Society and Women's Union were very close to their hearts, and it is impossible to estimate how much both Societies in the Salisbury Diocese owe to their loving care. When the G.F.S.

[1] Miss Beatrice Milford, daughter of Canon R. N. Milford, formerly Rector of East Knoyle, Wilts.

was being strengthened and its influence increased in 1888, the Bishop took keen interest in the matter; and at a later date, in writing to the diocesan secretary, Mrs. Wordsworth says, 'I send you the form of admission the Bishop prefers, with his comments and alterations scribbled over it. He would like to have it in proof before it is circulated.' The same care over small matters was shown when the Bishop and his wife were starting the Diocesan Women's Union. Not only did the Bishop write both the beautiful prayers for the card, but he was most particular as to the red lines with which the face of the card was ornamented.

"Many who came to Salisbury to take part in diocesan meetings will remember those quiet services held in the Palace chapel, when it would be filled with guests and when at times the Bishop would give a simple yet profound address upon the Gospel for the week, or perhaps upon one of the Lessons for the day. Those happy gatherings at Salisbury were an untold help and refreshment to those who took part in them. Mrs. Wordsworth's loving and understanding sympathy won all hearts, and it was an inspiration to workers for God to know that their Bishop valued and cared for what they were trying to do. He was generous in thanking others for what they did, and, by expecting people to do great things, obtained them.

"The Bishop's power of work was extraordinary. He worked so unceasingly that his wife in her letters often alluded to her anxiety. For instance:—

"'You will be sorry to hear that the Bishop is tired out and feverish and far from well. I only wonder he is as well as he is, when one considers all he has been doing lately. A new edition of his father's Church History, so he has had to go over all the proofs and write a long appendix of recent work; his own Vulgate is now in the press, and the proof-sheets come constantly. Those Italians and their pastors in London give him no end of trouble and writing. He has been reading all the law and precedents that can be found for the Bishop of Lincoln's case, and, worse than all, this tiresome school business is taking the heart out of him. When you consider that all comes on the top of sixty-eight Confirmations and ceaseless correspondence, the only wonder is he is as well as

he is. But I am very anxious, and chafe at my fetters,[1] which prevent my nursing him as I am accustomed. . . . It always depresses me to have him ill.' "

Most of the causes of overwork mentioned in this letter will reappear. Overwork, in fact, was constant in those years, and sometimes not without nervous strain. There were days, as when the Bishop was assessor in the Lincoln case, when diocesan work was postponed till midnight, and I remember the legal secretary telling me of his fear lest letters written in the small hours about a difficult case of discipline might end in a suit for libel. But almost always the work was faced with buoyancy, and always with an extreme conscientiousness. Sometimes this ran to an excess ; in his zeal for technical perfection the Bishop was reluctant to let proof-sheets pass beyond his control, and his fellow-workers, especially in the Vulgate, had to resort to devices of smuggling to remove them beyond his reach. This was but one symptom of an interest in processes rather than results. He wished to retain the power to improve. I remember venturing to urge him to complete a modest piece of diocesan business by having a trust-deed executed. He would not, on the ground that we are " always happiest when struggling." As a matter of fact, no struggle was going on ; he wished to be able, when he might be in the mood, to resume the subject, and that particular transaction remained unfinished till his death, after more than twenty years. There was similar delay in many other instances, though in the long run most of his tasks did get completed, and completed well. Yet his satisfaction was, as I said, in watching the process ; in regard to his favourite industry of building, he was happier in climbing ladders and explaining the work to others who might be less at home on dizzy planks,

[1] Mrs. Wordsworth was laid up at the time with an injured knee.

or in suggesting alterations in the plan, than in knowing afterwards that the fabric was complete and paid for and fulfilling its purpose.

There was an unfailing interest in the work that was being done, and a personal touch in everything. The day began with the plain Cathedral prayers at 7.30, when the Bishop's loud responses could be heard from the Lady Chapel far down the nave. For elaborate services he had little love, and during a long *Te Deum* or anthem there was no concealment of his inattention. He kept a small library of books of reference in his throne, and might be seen consulting, perhaps, a Hebrew lexicon; or if his thoughts suggested something worthy of record, there would be a struggle with his robes, his fountain-pen would emerge and a note would be made. It was part of his natural simplicity. At the Palace, too, all was natural. There was plain fare and silver plate, as in the home of St. Augustine; and the tone of conversation was plain and natural too. Archdeacon Bodington writes:—

"I think Dorset humour and American humour appealed to him most, but the homely details of life seldom failed to draw smiles and laughter from him every day. He was always cheerful and always hopeful, if he was not humorous. He was quite free from strained intensity. His Wordsworthian simplicity saw the waste of valuable tissue that comes from attempting to live life at an unnatural level, just as it revolted from self-consciousness as a form of selfishness, though he was shy himself from a certain self-consciousness."

Of the work that was done in this spirit a record has been furnished by one who served as domestic chaplain a little after these first years.[1] Though the first light-heartedness was gone, with some of the idealism and

[1] The Rev. W. A. Crokat, chaplain 1894–1901; now Rector of Muizenberg, Cape Colony.

enthusiasm, Mr. Crokat's account would be true of any period during the episcopate. He writes :—

"One of the things that made the deepest impression at the time was his absolute trust in a man when he once accepted him into his confidence. It was such as would make any man ashamed even to seem to come short of it. Trust in money matters, and trust in confidential matters where others were concerned, seemed at times almost greater than they ought to be. But it arose so evidently from the simple goodness of the Bishop's heart, his sense of the greatness of the work entrusted to himself was so real, and his wish that others younger than himself should take their full share in their more limited sphere was so strong, that one's own ideals of work were unconsciously raised to a higher level. No one could live near him and be associated with him in work without recognising, sometimes somewhat painfully, what a tremendous worker he was. The wide range of subjects in which he was interested was equalled by the thoroughness with which he carried each forward. But it was not always easy for others. As no obstacles seemed to deter him from what he felt ought to be attempted, so he seemed to think others, with not half his mental power, ought to be equally willing to attempt what seemed the impossible. It used to be said that he expected others to run their head against a brick wall, but that, when it came to his turn to do what others had failed to do, somehow the wall gave way and he was on the other side. The ability to concentrate his whole attention on one subject at a time to the exclusion of all else, enabled him to work with a thoroughness and speed which left his subordinates far behind. On the other hand, to speak from a secretary's point of view, this mental thoroughness was scarcely a characteristic of the Bishop in ordinary matters. One could hardly call him methodical. Although it was his frequent, almost beseeching, request to his secretaries to tear up letters and papers, he rarely destroyed one himself, and never attempted to sort them. Every return from a journey brought into the study bundles of letters, important and unimportant, which had been forwarded to him during his journey, to remain untouched, perhaps, till another absence from home gave some one an opportunity to deal

with them. Accumulations of ancient correspondence of various dates were at times to be found under every book or heap of books on the study table. . . . There was, at any rate, one advantage to be had from this state of affairs, that it gave a man of vastly inferior powers an opportunity of being really useful to him. A long time might elapse, and the Bishop's mind would be so full of other matters that he seemed quite unmindful of this, and then suddenly he would say something which would show that he was, after all, quite aware of it, and a few words of appreciation would give the keenest pleasure.

"Another picture of those days, and not an uncommon one, remains vividly in one's memory. The Bishop in his chair at the study table, the table covered with the morning's letters, stylograph pen in hand, notepaper, or more often foolscap paper, on his knee, without pausing to choose words or phrases, writing rapidly some letter or paper of unusual importance, the morning's correspondence waiting idly till this weighty matter was off his mind. It is thus that one well remembers him writing sections of the Archbishops' reply to Pope Leo XIII. In connection with the English version of this I remember his asking me the right word for 'cut out,' which he could not think of at the moment; and on my suggesting 'eliminate,' he said that word was 'my contribution' to the Letter. In later years I am afraid I used to conceal letters concerning the more lengthy extra-diocesan matters, when possible, until the more numerous but more easily disposed of diocesan letters had been attended to. If the Bishop was first in the study, he had a perverse way of picking out the lengthy subjects, and leaving the secretary with no letters to write till a good part of the morning had passed. On the other hand, if one got him in a diocesan frame of mind, a great pile of correspondence would be worked through in a wonderfully short time. Certainly the diocese was not allowed to suffer on account of outside interests.

"These few reminiscences are those pertaining to a secretary's duties. The very large part in the life at the Palace occupied by the services in the Cathedral and the chapel of course affected all the routine work of chaplains and secretaries and others. The Bishop's genuine deep piety and his faith in prayer formed the basis of all work in the

study, of diocesan correspondence as well as of work for the larger interests of the Church. But of these matters it is for others to speak. It only remains to be said that there could be no better training for after-life for any man than to be associated with one so large-hearted, so strong in loyalty to the Church, so untiring in his labours, so full of faith, and therefore so inspiring to others, as our late Bishop."

When Mr. Crokat entered upon his office, the Bishop gave him metrical instruction in his duties :—

" You that would learn the secretary's art
May take some lessons from an apple tart.
The cook that makes a crisp and wholesome paste
Must mix the ingredients to the eater's taste ;
Yet such is nature that the common voice
Makes four at least the universal choice.
The base of all's the fine white flour of fact
Unmixed with inference, minute, exact,
Brought to consistency by common sense
Like water clear, and plain without pretence.
Be very very sparing of your spice !
Few relish wit, though some may think it nice.
But two more things are needed, sir, for all,
However scattered on this earthly ball,
Whether they're poor or wealthy, old or young,
Divided far in habits, home or tongue.
Sugar and butter are their magic names,
Their presence in your pastry no one blames.
The young require them because life is new,
And often opens with an anxious view ;
The middle-aged because its course is rude,
And their best purposes misunderstood ;
The old since death has robbed them of their friends
And there is sadness in the brightest ends.
I would not have you flatter rich or poor,
But life to both is often dull and sour.
Our tastes, too, foreigners all share in this :
Italian, French, or German, Greek or Swiss.
In fact, remember all mankind have hearts,
And all are schoolboys in respect of tarts."

In the Bishop's literary work, apart from the Vulgate, there could be little system. He was employed so constantly on inquiries bearing on the circumstances of the day that he had no leisure for methodical reading. The range of literature on which he habitually drew was so wide that those who did not know him might think that he garnered passages which struck him in his notebooks. He did nothing of the kind. Unlike Bishop Stubbs, he had no shelves laden with exquisitely kept manuscript volumes of annotation. His notes were for the immediate purpose, and not for future reference. But somewhere in his mind was everything that he had read, and it appeared when it was needed. Yet he carried his knowledge lightly; he had such an infallible instinct for the likely place in literature that his mind was not burdened with an excessive weight of facts. And so accurate was his knowledge of his own library that the least literary of chaplains could be informed by letter, from a confirmation tour, where to seek for abstruse information of which the Bishop was in need. To this absence of annotation there was one exception. The duodecimo Greek Testament of Tischendorf's edition, which he had bought at Berlin in 1867, was his constant companion. It was a marvel of brief comment and reference, growing ampler throughout his life. Except in the second half of the Acts and the whole of the Apocalypse, where the notes are scanty, its well-worn pages and margins are covered with exquisitely neat annotations and underlinings. For his sermons the Bishop employed a peculiar method. He wrote them in cheap small-octavo notebooks, which came to number nearly eighty. Some of the sermons were fully written out, some were skeletons, and in the same volumes were notes of addresses which he had heard on various occasions. There can be few, however modest their capacities, to whom he listened of whose utterances

he made no record. The sermons are extraordinary in the variety of their illustrations. In one there are citations from Shelley and from Suetonius a few lines apart. Many were printed in small numbers in a duodecimo form for gifts rather than with the thought of sale; and many of these were pasted for further use into his volumes. It was so that he prepared for his American journey; all his sermons, save one or two, such as that to the General Convention, were adapted from earlier addresses in print. Often, when printed, they were fortified with learned notes, as was one to the troops at Tidworth Camp, preached in his last days, on the organisation of the Roman Army and the lessons to be learned from it. A selection, which is fairly typical though it cannot show the wide range of his topics, has recently been published, and many more may be found in the *Diocesan Gazette*. It may safely be said that he was always deeply interested in what he said, and that he habitually spoke with impressive weight. There was no rhetoric in the sermons, and there was often the assumption that his hearers knew more, and were more keenly interested in the subject than was actually the case. Perhaps, though he was often powerful in the pulpit, and though spiritual things were prominent in his teaching, justice is best done to him by regarding his sermons as part of his literary production. This, again, was astonishingly varied. Wherever precedents were applicable, he sought and found them, and he was always ready to derive principles from precedent and experience. His width of reading furnished him with a rich supply of analogies applicable, more or less perfectly, to modern circumstances. But his ultimate convictions were so firm that he took no interest in the criticism or defence of first principles, and with his strong sense of the binding force of authority he sought truth through research rather

than through reasoning. Scripture, perhaps, was too sacred for critical examination; certainly his study of it aimed directly at edification. Modern conclusions concerning the New Testament he never accepted: with the Old it was otherwise. In his first days as Bishop he shared Liddon's repugnance for all departure from tradition. I remember listening with consternation in 1888 to his prophecy that, should the accepted date and authorship of the Pentateuch be abandoned, public faith in the Gospel would fail. In later life, though he had made none of the inquiries of the specialist, he adjusted himself to his environment and accepted the current opinion of educated men; but it is needless to say that he never took a naturalist view of the Old Testament. As time went on, the range of his scholarly interests widened. To patristic knowledge in all its departments he added that of liturgiology. To this he was led by his practical duties as a Bishop, but he soon became a devoted specialist, yet one who would warn others against being engrossed in so technical a pursuit. One of his chief treasures in later life was a York Missal, on whose bibliographical peculiarities he would expatiate as a true disciple of Coxe. His wide knowledge, in particular, of forms of service for the consecration of churches has enabled him beneficially to influence current practice, and his strong opinions on the due conduct of Divine Service were always fortified by examples from the past. The Lincoln case drew him to canon law, and the constitutional problems which the Lambeth gatherings have suggested were a further incitement to research for answers to them in history. Finally, questions of reunion, in Scotland and in many lands as well as at home, always shaped themselves for him in a historical guise, and there were few centuries in which he did not seek to know how men had faced such difficulties as confront the Church to-day. Especially

in his latter years he devoted much attention to what are called the Dark Ages, a period with some aspects of which his palaeographical studies in the Latin Bible had long made him familiar. This manifold work, pursued in the intervals of his other duties and interests, engrossed so much of his time that he had little space for recreation. He would, in fact, often say that a change of work was a sufficient rest. On the confirmation tours there were hours in the open air; at other times there were rides on horseback, none too frequent and abandoned in later life. Usually there was but a brief walk, often in depressing circumstances, as when in the dusk of a winter afternoon he would snatch an hour to plod, with pounds of wet chalk adhering to his soles, over rude paths at the back of Harnham Hill. But he was not discontented. Mrs. Wordsworth told a friend that when she cried out for the mountains of Switzerland the Bishop replied that he would never think of criticising nature, as seen from Salisbury Race Plain.

With such interests and capacities for work he entered on his task. There were arrears to be overcome, for Bishop Moberly, with keenness of mind unimpaired, had been for some time physically incapable. He was at once faced by a serious difficulty. The ecclesiastical press was never more reckless, in flattery and in vituperation, than in 1885.[1] Misled by his association with Liddon and other Oxford friends, the journalists on both sides had leaped to the conclusion that the new Bishop was an extreme partisan. He was acclaimed with an embarrassing fervour which awakened unreasonable hopes in some quarters and (what was more serious) equally unreasonable fears in others, especially in Dorset, where Evangelicalism was strong. Soon, for a reason that is

[1] At his Lent ordination in 1885 Bishop Stubbs, of Chester, definitely bade his candidates to read neither the *Church Times* nor the *Rock*.

not worth recalling, he was being gibbeted in the *Rock* as a "narrow-minded Bishop." He had to explain with infinite patience to one suspicious clergyman after another how harmless were his practices and how central his position. One was told, "I adopt the Eastward Position myself, as the most usual in Christendom, Protestant as well as Papal, Eastern as well as Western." To another he wrote :—

"We cannot agree on everything, but we may certainly agree on a great number of important subjects, and not only agree but *act* together upon them with a sense of deepened responsibility. Have you considered how much a sense of partizanship (where it occupies a large space in a man's thoughts) interferes with his proper influence?"

There can be no doubt that this painful experience —some Evangelicals in their alarm proposed to withdraw from all diocesan organisations—deepened the Bishop's repugnance to party spirit on either side.

If there were difficulties, the Bishop had great advantages. He heartily admired the typical country clergyman: in his first home at Stanford he had learned to know what the work and the life were. To him they were real and normal, giving full scope for all good faculties. He expressed his admiration in his funeral sermon on Archdeacon Sanctuary,[1] a man after his own mind, though he had not the scholarly instinct :—

"As the son of a country gentleman, he inherited those tastes for outdoor life and pursuits in which many Englishmen find almost a full satisfaction of their ideal of life. His physical strength and robust, manly, genial temper fitted him for full enjoyment of material things. He might have wasted his energies or fallen into slothfulness and ease. But God

[1] Thomas Sanctuary, Archdeacon of Dorset and Rector of Powerstock; died 27th May, 1889. The sermon was preached in Salisbury Cathedral, 2nd June.

had better things in store for him. The influences of a good home, of good fellow-students and of good teachers—one ever tenderly valued by him being my own father, his master at Harrow School—stamped upon him the sense that the service of God in the ministry of the Church was to be the business and the pleasure of his life in one. I say distinctly the business and the pleasure of his life, the one thing for which he really cared. There are many men who do their duty well enough, but who are always looking beyond it and behind it to the relaxation which is to follow, to the weekly or yearly holiday, the pleasant engagement which is to set them free to be their real selves. This was not so with him. Our brother was his real self in his work, and he was so because the self-conscious, ease-loving self in him was deliberately kept in the background. I know not whether it was by effort or temperament or the result of both, but he was, as far as my experience goes (and I believe that it was generally noticed), unknown ever to murmur or complain, unknown to put his own personal ambitions or tastes or projects forward, unknown to speak in any self-conscious or sentimental manner of what concerned himself. His life was brightened with many blessings, but it was chequered by not a few sorrows, and those not easy to bear. He was brave and he was simple, and therefore he was able to be diffusive and sympathetic. He had an open eye for the enjoyment of nature and for the enjoyment of human nature—and of both as God's work. His was a manly sympathy, and it had a special power with men, particularly with the men of that county which he had so entirely adopted as his own."

So also, after twenty years' experience, he spoke in his triennial charge of 1906:—

"It is the type of the Christian English gentleman, enriched, in the case of the clergy, by the quiet daily performance of pastoral duty. Such men showed themselves simple in faith and plain in living, upright and unblemished in character, unquestioning in loyalty to the Church and loyal to loving personal authority, but faithful in counsel and independent in judgment, generous and unambitious in public spirit,

founders and restorers of schools and churches and parsonages and public institutions, and conscious that power, influence, and wealth are a trust from God. It is a fine type for which the nation as well as the Church has cause to thank God. A type that wears well and will never be out of date, one which gives confidence to all those who have the faintest perception of what is meant by character."

Valuing the clergy as he did, and loyal to them as he was, it is not wonderful that he was soon welcomed. Archdeacon Bodington, who began his career in a Dorchester curacy, writes how the people as well as the clergy—

" gave him their friendship in a few months. They felt that he was perfectly simple, free from party, and sincere. He also won much affection by his kindness to the young people of the rectories and country houses. But also his quick success was undoubtedly due to Mrs. Wordsworth's interpretation of him to the diocese. People saw him not only through their own but also through her eyes. She made, indeed, an extraordinary impression on the diocese. She understood rural churchwardens as nicely as she did Oxford undergraduates. I remember a lunch when a deadly, icy silence prevailed, and could not be broken till at last she exclaimed, ' You frighten me and Mr. —— so much that I think we shall both run away in a minute ! ' Of course the ice was broken, the Bishop leading the laughter, and everything went beautifully. In those days I often had amusing experiences. When he visited Dorchester or the neighbourhood,[1] it was his habit to take me with him as his chaplain. Mrs. Wordsworth used to protest : ' He needs some one who can keep him in order, and what's the good of you for that ? ' Indeed, it was difficult. When it was wet, robing at a vicarage he would walk to church with a large cloak over his robes and an umbrella over his head. On more than one occasion he walked thus up the church, and in spite of all entreaties hung his cloak over the altar-rails. Sometimes he would get up during an anthem (which he never liked) and look out of the windows. Another time he

[1] Between 1886 and 1889.

would insist on going the wrong way to the pulpit, only to find himself disappointed of entrance. When he did arrive there, as often as not there were surprises. He loved to warn us how some cherished Protestant principle or practice might lead up to Papalism or Mariolatry, and how full of private judgment was the Catholic mind. As the newspapers said at the time of his death, he always said something you never forgot. He was not eloquent, he was not logically cogent, but there was always some one thing or more, it might be sometimes a whole sermon, that you remembered. If you had the imagination to realise the man's greatness, the sympathy to understand why he was saying what he was saying, the sense of humour to enjoy the delightful quaintness, the education to enjoy the allusions, the simplicity to wish to be instructed, he interested you intensely.

"It has always struck me as remarkable how the local press of the two counties changed from hostility, or at least hostile criticism, in the earliest months of his episcopate to an extraordinary confidence in his justice and wisdom. At first they did not like his blunt straightforwardness. He gave much offence in one small town by saying that it was the black spot in his diocese; they have not forgotten it now, after twenty-five years. They did not like his walking about the streets in his robes. They thought some of his remarks unpractical. They thought him 'very High Church.' But he never took the slightest notice of what was said except to be rather more than usually kind to those who said it. Gradually they came to think he was almost certainly right on his own subjects, that he always had a reason for what he said, that he was never wrong in his facts, and that some of his unpractical remarks had a way of fulfilling themselves.

"When I was with him, always when he came into the house after a confirmation he would kneel down by the bedside and pray audibly for those he had confirmed, asking with tears in his eyes pardon for his own sins. He would pay an extraordinary number of visits on these occasions. 'Who is Mr. ——? Where does he live. Take me to see him. Who else have we time to go and see?' Then he never forgot the names and history of those he had seen on a former occasion. Perhaps he would succeed in paying fourteen or fifteen calls

(they were very brief) on these one-day visits, beside confirming once or twice and possibly reopening some church or churchyard or attending some meeting. In walking about he would invite expression of difficulties and give you his help: 'Turn wandering thoughts themselves into prayers,' 'Often difficulty in prayer is due to want of blood in one's brain,' 'When you think of a thing do it, and when begun finish it if possible in order to avoid waste of time in getting out the apparatus again.' Perhaps this was why he would ask for paste or gum, say at 8 p.m., when dinner and fellow-guests were waiting. I think it was the universality of his interest that was the foundation of his sympathy. Just as I have known a smoking chimney or an inconvenient coal-hole make him late for a confirmation (and I once found him in his bedroom with his head covered with soot from such an investigation) till he had satisfied himself as to causes and remedies, so it was with every man's work. What was the cause of its defects? He would trace them to their source in helping you."

Mrs. Wordsworth was inseparable from her husband on his confirmation tours. Their earliest experience was also their worst. After describing various difficulties, including the loss of their road in the snow somewhere between Ashmore and Tollard Royal, she continues[1]:—

"I am sure you ought to have an account of this week's proceedings, they have been so adventurous. We started Monday morning from Blandford in thick snow—what a wretched day it was! I never spent quite such a one; in and out of cold, dull parish churches, with the carriage damper each time we got into it, incessant cold rain and sleet all day, ending in dense, raw fog. We were indeed glad of the bright, warm welcome we received at the end of it all at Milborne. I did ache with rheumatism. Tuesday, such a day! Bright summer sunshine, pretty little church and charming service. We had quite a holiday that bright day, and it did us both good. So far I told you before. Did I tell you that John took our host's carriage and drove off in thick snow, it being

[1] To Miss Susan Wordsworth, 6th March, 1886, from Abbotsbury.

much lighter than ours? He got to Puddletown all right, and confirmed at 11, and I believe got to Cerne Abbas after considerable trouble at 3, but after that, trying to get over the down, the carriage stuck fast in the snow, the springs broke, the portmanteau rolled out, etc., etc. John had got over into a field and descried his next destination (Buckland Newton, confirmation at 5) lying about a mile beneath him, so he caught hold of the pastoral staff with one hand and the robes with the other, and ran down through the snow, arriving only ten minutes late. He had another wild day, Thursday, at Bishop's Caundle and Haselbury Bryan, but joined me at Milton Abbas at 6, wonderfully bright and little tired. On Friday morning (yesterday) when we woke, imagine our dismay; over a foot of snow and snowstorm continuing! Every one tried to dissuade him from going on. They said the drifts in the lanes were five or six feet deep, but Hamlin [1] said if they would lend him a leader they would do it, so off they set—three horses and our carriage. John wouldn't take me. The weather got worse and worse. I was very anxious about John; and how was I to get away, for the snow was still falling? And though we had telegraphed for a fly and two horses from Dorchester to fetch me, how could I be sure that we should ever get through eleven miles of snow, when the postman could not come and the lanes were full from drifts? But I did, and here I am in the loveliest spot in England, with bright sunshine sparkling and hardly any snow, and I shall feel very thankful and content when John comes in, as I hope he may, in half an hour's time."

But adventures came in London as well. Writing to Mr. Holgate from the pleasant rooms in Lollards'

[1] This shrewd and faithful servant deserves mention. He was a true humorist, and in his journeys had acquired an extraordinary knowledge of the two counties. After the return from an expedition he would impart to a secretary or chaplain an unofficial, but entertaining and sometimes instructive, view of the state of the parishes. And he would keep his employers up to the mark. "There are several calls you ought to make, mum, the people looking very hard at you as we pass," Mrs. Wordsworth records him as saying. Searle, the loyal friend and chauffeur of later years, must also be named.

Tower in which, through Archbishop Benson's kindness, the Wordsworths in 1889 had succeeded Bishop Lightfoot, she says [1]:—

"The sermon at Westminster Abbey came off all right, but it was written under difficulties. One of your lunatic friends, ——, came to sit hours with him, and then the Lambeth church bells took to practising, for some reason best known to themselves, and literally for more than two hours pealed in our rooms. . . . Our Bishop more than furious. However, it got written somehow, but I didn't hear it as I felt unwell and tired. . . . I never heard John come in, but when I came out of Lambeth Chapel there I found him learning Armenian—'tch, hah, etc.'—with that man who burst on us at the Synod, and there they went on till nearly midnight, the Bishop rapt. Do all Bishops sit down to learn Armenian after preaching tiring sermons in Westminster Abbey, I wonder? . . . But yesterday was *the* day. We left Lollards' Tower at 9.30 in a steamer. The air, the clouds, the banks, the water just lovely. I did enjoy it. Whiting [2] and the robes gave respectability, but the Bishop would imagine there was a landing-stage just past Chelsea, which he said was nearer St. Mark's than Chelsea Pier. So on we went, the Chelsea clocks as we steamed by pointing 12.20, and the service at 12.30. On we go, leaving Chelsea behind us, and find that the next stage is the wrong side of the river a long way higher up. Whiting and the robes, the Bishop and I at unequal distances scamper through back lanes till a hansom is found, and we really arrive at St. Mark's only ten minutes late and no one seems to have expected us before."

The whole picture of activity, and, it must be said, of unpunctuality, is thoroughly characteristic of the pair, and the high spirits in which it is described of Mrs. Wordsworth. Whether it was well that one whose health was never strong should share in such constant hurryings and in such occasional hardships, is a question that need not be asked. Certainly she would have refused to abstain;

[1] 26th March, 1891. [2] The butler.

certainly also she heartily enjoyed the varied experience and brought light and help to many a secluded home.

In 1890 the Bishop put some of his impressions of the diocese into writing. They were meant only for private reading.

"Dorset," he says, "is a much more 'homey' county than Wilts, with no tracts of cold chalk downs or plains separating its valleys from one another, and with many more resident gentry, who are either closely connected by marriage or at least take an interest in one another's families. The common people have more of Celtic blood, perhaps, and are more easy to make friends with. They are, perhaps, slightly less truthful than the Wiltshire peasants and possibly not such fast friends as the latter when the latter are won. There is more of Puritanism in Dorset of a certain kind, though I do not think it is so hard to overcome as in parts of Wilts, where Nonconformity is of older growth—*e.g.* round Trowbridge and in some of the parishes near Pewsey and Marlborough, where the farmers are active in making complaints if not in propagating schism. Not that I have personally received many ritual complaints against the clergy from any parts of the diocese. I cannot recall after reference to my letter-books more than five or six, and nearly all of these were quite trifling and indeed rather of the nature of incidents in personal quarrels or expressions of cantankerousness on the part of the complainants, than serious charges."

A similar, but fuller and more picturesque appreciation of Dorset may be read in his sermon to Dorset men in London, preached in 1908 in St. Paul's Cathedral.[1]

He was always eager to draw attention to the natural features and historical associations of his diocese, that so he might heighten the zeal of its living inhabitants for the maintenance of their inheritance. Thus in his last

[1] P. 164 of the posthumous volume of Sermons.

triennial charge, delivered in 1909, he spoke of Wiltshire in the past :—

"Surely it gives an extraordinary interest to our diocese, and to the neighbourhood of our cathedral city, that our Avon connects us so intimately with the most ancient religious and political history of our land. It is now but a sinuous silver streak gliding through green meadows in the midst of its old course. In those old days it was a stronger and broader current, taking the most direct line from Salisbury Plain to the sea at Christchurch Bay. It was doubtless the highway up which the most ancient stones of Stonehenge, of Welsh or Irish origin, were brought when that great monument was first begun. It bore on its breast many a war-vessel, many a barge of state, many a merchant ship. Up its channel came the salmon, as they still do when they are permitted, but doubtless in far greater numbers. Its upper southward course is still protected by camps or fortified villages, of which the traces still remain from Broadbury and the Casterley entrenchments on the West and Chisenbury on the East. Amesbury was doubtless an important point on this river, and Old Sarum must have been the capital of the district, and so placed as to control the entrance to the upper valley. Three miles below Old Sarum lies Britford—the British outpost when Briton and Saxon for a time rested from the struggle for defence and conquest—evidently an old religious centre, which still retains some remarkable Saxon work of the eighth century."

And so he traces the course of the Avon downwards to the sea. But he was not content to reconstruct the past; he wished to mould the future, and at the Synod of 1892 he drew a brilliant picture of Salisbury as equally suited to be a manufacturing centre and a University town.

In this spirit he began at once to frame projects for religious work. The first, mooted at the Synod of 1886, was for a body of mission preachers, which was established in the following autumn. Writing to the friend whom

he designed to make its first Warden,[1] he describes his hopes :—

"Salisbury once (about 800 years ago) gave a ritual to England. I see no reason why it may not start something which may be of as practical importance in the organisation of the religious life of its priests, nowadays, and be at least an example to the whole Anglican Church. I have no wish to put the matter in an unreal light, but I know that there is a great want, and that being a Bishop with a large house and no family I have some opportunities for making the attempt which others have not. Another reason is the great harmony of feeling in the diocese and the readiness of our clergy, with scarcely an exception, to accept such a plan coming from the Bishop of the diocese."

The society came into being under the title of "Missionaries of St. Andrew"; it still lives and has had a modest usefulness, rather in taking charge of vacant parishes and in similar forms of help than in the conduct of parochial missions, though that work has not been neglected. It has also more than once provided a home for clergy who have been drawn towards scholarship, and to them the Bishop's library was always open. The Bishop regarded himself as a member of the Society, found it a home in the Palace till its dwelling in the old Church House was restored for it, and provided for its permanence by collecting a moderate endowment. He was scrupulous in his respect for its constitutional rights, whether formulated with his consent or informally developed; he watched over its spiritual life, and was sometimes very tolerant towards its shortcomings.

But his most characteristic work was the foundation of the Bishop's school. At the Mayor's lunch which followed his enthronement he asked for suggestions from

[1] The Rev. G. F. Hooper, now Chaplain of St. Oswald's, Worcester; written on the 21st May, 1886.

those present for some work that he might initiate, and so follow the example of the founders among his predecessors. He soon fixed upon a middle-class school for boys as the chief need of the city of Salisbury. In 1889 he built a handsome school of red brick, with a seemly chapel, close to his Palace. He took an unceasing interest in its welfare. Archdeacon Bodington says—

"it was the first place he went to on arriving at home, and he thought all his visitors would like to see it too. Once he spent much time in considering the provision of pepper and salt for the boys who brought their dinner to school. Such details to him were always as important as great principles."

The carpentering and smith's work were naturally watched with special interest, and in his ambition for his school the Bishop wished to make it the centre for technical teaching in Salisbury. He protested in a printed pamphlet against the city's design to found a technical school of its own "in opposition to mine, or at any rate to my plans for the city." The city took its own course, and the Bishop formed new plans as the national system of education developed and grants were more liberally bestowed. More highly trained teachers were engaged and fresh branches of science were taught. Then the school was opened to girls. The Bishop had planned to build a school for them, but finally preferred a scheme of co-education of the two sexes. Next, a boarding-house was built, that the school might not benefit the city only. Finally, in 1898, though the Bishop till his death took care to maintain his control, he vested the school and certain adjacent houses which he had bought in the Diocesan Finance Board as the "Wordsworth Educational Trust." It was a noble benefaction, though the cost of modern education endangers the permanence of schools which stand outside the county system without considerable endowments

to maintain them. For some twenty-five years the school has provided a sound Church education for children who now number about two hundred. Some of the boys have won an honourable place in the world.

No assistance was asked by the Bishop for his own effort. But while he was taxing his means to establish it, an unexpected educational storm drew the eyes of England to Salisbury. It was a time when the strife over elementary schools was bitter. In Salisbury there were none but voluntary schools, the cost of which, though Nonconformists paid their share, mainly fell upon the Church, which had its National schools in every parish. Public opinion was in favour of things as they were. At each election a majority of the School Board was returned pledged not to establish schools of its own. Thus the denominational system seemed secure. But the militant Nonconformists devised a plan by which they expected to obtain their desire of introducing undenominational education into the city. By closing their own schools they would create such a demand for places in the National schools that the voluntary system would break down. Churchmen would fail to provide the needed accommodation, and so Board schools would become a necessity. To obtain this end the Nonconformists closed in succession several schools, financially solvent, with an honourable history and providing a good education. The scheme, which was doubtless promoted by politicians outside Salisbury, was ingenious, but it was based on a miscalculation. Pecuniary fears were the last motive to deter the Bishop. The case became national. He subscribed heavily himself, money flowed in from all England, a Sisterhood from London for some time undertook the conduct of a school; and when, with dramatic suddenness, a British school in Scot's Lane shut its doors the Bishop at once opened a substitute in his own Palace. The

scheme collapsed, for the Church provided all the space that was needed, and on the 24th September, 1890, the Bishop was able to write to Archbishop Benson :—

" We opened the last of our schools yesterday in a quiet, simple way, and since the collapse of Mundella's attack in the House of Commons I have heard of no recrudescence of Dissenting feeling here."

Mr. Mundella was, in his eyes, the leader of the attempt, and some of the methods employed in it the Bishop regarded as unscrupulous. The political Dissenters, he thought, were making Salisbury a test case. It was the harder for him, because he valued their schools, and actually volunteered help from the Church if only they would enlarge their buildings instead of closing them.

But if there was victory in 1890, the struggle throughout the diocese continued till the peace of 1902. In its course the Bishop became an expert in all the technicalities, now half forgotten, of that transitional period in educational policy. He had some disappointments, and his plans were not accepted by all those who sympathised with his aims, but nowhere in England was greater success achieved in maintaining Church schools than in the diocese of Salisbury. When the controversy was resumed under a new government in 1906 the Bishop was as vigorous in argument as ever against new schemes which, as yet, have not been brought into action. But he was always candid in debate, as when he refused to sanction one of the most popular arguments used on the side of the Church :—

" Surely Nonconformists are right in saying that the system of general religious education which they advocate is not an endowment of Dissent out of the rates. It does not assist the Baptist or Wesleyan cause in the way that the teaching of the Church Catechism and the Prayer-book assists

the cause of the Church of England. It may weaken the Church, but in my opinion it also weakens the special tenets of Dissent. On the other hand, Churchmen are right in calling the system, as now administered, precarious, Erastian, and tending to Unitarianism. What is needed to make it better is an alliance between Churchmen and religious Nonconformists, based on a perception of the true conditions and drawbacks of the present system." [1]

It was in regard to education that the Bishop made his one serious attempt at legislation. He had taken his seat in the House of Lords on the 12th June, 1890, and in 1893 he introduced his "Elementary Education (Religious Instruction) Bill." It provided that if the parents of five or more children, belonging to two or more families, petitioned for it, a School Board was to appoint a religious instructor of their denomination, who should give them separate teaching of not more than three hours a week, and not at the cost of the Board. Bishop Temple, of London, refused to support the Bill, on the ground that its ultimate tendency was to bring about universal secular schools, with ministers or others selected by the parents giving the religious instruction. However, the Bill, which had Lord Salisbury's approval, was introduced and read a first time on the 16th March, read a third time, passed with amendments and sent down to the Commons on the 5th July, 1893. In the Lower House it made no progress.

But the House of Lords was not the most appropriate scene for Bishop Wordsworth. One of his brethren writes :—

"I should not have said that dear J. S. was a man suited for the House of Lords. And I remember having a feeling of uneasiness when he got up. But I don't remember that he justified it; and his mastery and masterfulness had a way

[1] I regret that the reference for this passage is missing.

of impressing, on occasion, even people who, one would *a priori* have said, would treat him with little attention."

A strong will had been needed if the school difficulty at Salisbury was to be overcome. The Bishop in his earlier days was even masterful. There are many instances of his insistence upon having his way. A clergyman of some dignity and of many years' standing in the diocese had, the Bishop thought, outlived his usefulness, and was told that he ought to resign. He refused, and was so incautious as to visit Salisbury in order to expostulate. He was not allowed to leave the Bishop's study till his resignation was signed. It was natural that one of such antecedents as the Bishop should at first show traces of the don and even of the schoolmaster. When in 1888 he founded the Salisbury *Diocesan Gazette*, which will be indispensable to all students of Church affairs in the nineteenth century, so thoughtful and comprehensive are his surveys of the movement of the time, he naturally desired that the clergy should keep and bind their copies. He publicly advised them to do so, and after a year he wished to know how far his counsel had been taken. In the diocesan synod of 1889 he asked all those who had bound their *Gazettes* to hold up their hands. No hands were raised; but in justice to the clergy it must be said that bound copies were kept and valued in many a parsonage.

But this masterfulness, which was almost conquered in later years, did not cause resentment. It was one of the ways in which the Bishop, of whom all were proud, was unlike other men. It even helped him in the enthusiastic course in which he, aided by Mrs. Wordsworth, swept everything before him. It was a singularly happy time, when administrative, devotional, scholarly, theological, antiquarian interests jostled with one another,

yet did not impede a bright and unceasing hospitality. No one could have had less reason to desire a changed position. Yet, with a certain quixotry he wrote to Archbishop Benson at the end of 1890 [1]:—

"I can't help feeling troubled about Worcester. I sometimes wish I might offer to exchange with the Bishop designate, but I don't really feel that it would be right to do so."

The time was one when intercommunion with Dissenters was in the air, and Dr. Perowne had provoked a storm in his future diocese and in the ecclesiastical press by his advocacy of that course. Salisbury might not have welcomed a Churchman of that colour; but the diocese of Worcester then contained Birmingham, and the Bishop of Salisbury craved for the rule over a great city, and had no doubt of his fitness for the task. There is no reason to regret that the opportunity did not come. It would have lessened his leisure for works of scholarship. His learning received its first honorary reward in 1890, when he was made LL.D. of Dublin.

Over this life of busy and happy service a shadow was now to be cast. Archdeacon Bodington, speaking of 1890, says that he found Mrs. Wordsworth then—

"as brilliant as ever, but it did strike me that she was not well, and that the pace of the life was too much for her. There were times when her nerves were undoubtedly strained, and she suffered from them. But I am quite certain that nothing would have ever persuaded her to desist from giving herself to the full. When I said good-bye to her in the autumn, to go to South Africa, she seemed to anticipate that we might not meet again. We did, in 1893–94, but the end was already drawing near. This much more ought to be said, that the Church and diocese can never exaggerate the debt they owe to Mrs. Wordsworth for inspiring him. He knew his indebtedness. It was in consequence an ideal home. She was an

[1] 15th December.

intensely happy woman, but I shall always think that to love and service she sacrificed, though gladly and willingly, mere length of days."

Malignant disease became evident in 1893, and for a year Mrs. Wordsworth was on her death-bed. Ample records remain of the thoughts and feelings of the time, such as in many instances have been printed for edification. Here no more shall be said than that her husband noted in her "a growth in grace, as certain as any fact of mathematics," and that after her death Bishop Durnford, of Chichester, wrote :—

"What a light and joy she brought to our little company at the Lollards'! How different was that dingy Tower when she was there! Those days are not to return, but the memory of them is bright and sweet and will never pass away."

Mrs. Wordsworth was commemorated by the Bishop and a few of her friends in an exhibition to be held at Lady Margaret's Hall or St. Hugh's College at Oxford by girls born or educated in the diocese of Salisbury. It was also in her memory that the Bishop purchased the wretched court facing his School across Exeter Street, which he repaired and made into a row of cheap and healthy cottages. He afterwards gave it as part of the School's endowment. A public subscription was raised for the establishment of a "Wordsworth Home of Rest" for women. This was at first at Weymouth, was moved in 1905 to Swanage, and now occupies a handsome building, with forty beds, at that place. A multitude of touching letters assured the Bishop of the gratitude and affection she had earned at Oxford and Salisbury.

CHAPTER X

NEW ZEALAND AND JERUSALEM

MRS. WORDSWORTH died on the 23rd June, 1894. The Bishop's visitation had been carried out at the six usual centres between the 29th May and the 11th June, and he had been able to deliver the addresses himself. It is not wonderful that they were slight, and limited to the topics of the day. They were published with a prefatory letter to the clergy and churchwardens, dated the day before his wife died, in which he said :—

" God has shadowed this house with a great sorrow ; but it has made me feel more than ever the opportunities of religious life in our English homes, and I trust that you will also use them to the full while you are, by God's mercy, still permitted to do so. Let each family strive to be a little Church in itself, united closely with the Catholic Church of Christ, but realising its own educational functions and duties and its own blessed interior peace and holiness."

The Bishop resumed his work on the 11th July, but it was manifest that he was unequal to it. It happened that at this very time Mr. Frederic Wallis, one of his chaplains, was elected to the bishopric of Wellington, New Zealand, and it—

" was suggested to the Bishop that he might offer to take part in the consecration of his friend and fellow-labourer in his new home, and at the same time derive great benefit from the voyage there and back at a time in his life when such a break seems most desirable."

The Archbishop approved.[1] Dr. Yeatman Biggs, then Bishop of Southwark, now of Worcester, undertook the episcopal work, careful arrangements were made for the diocesan business, and on the 16th November Bishop Wordsworth sailed, accompanied by the Bishop elect and his wife.[2]

He has given so full and lively an account of his experiences in the *Diocesan Gazette*,[3] that little need be said here. The narrative is better told and more full of matter than most volumes of travel. In days to come it will be an authority on the state of those new countries at the end of the nineteenth century. The diocese was thoroughly interested in the story, and the *Gazette* was read as never before. The public was admitted into the writer's intimacy; it was all natural and confidential without being trivial. On the outward voyage there was a Greek Testament class, a Dante class, a Bible class for the less educated. There were, as occasion offered, services for passengers of all ranks and much personal intercourse. And always, with his extraordinary memory and interest in individuals, the Bishop was finding points of contact. People or places formed the link; to him it was real and he tried to turn it to account. There is a note of natural sadness in some of his reflections :—

"I cannot help thinking again and again what a blessing my dearest wife would have been to this party,[4] how she

[1] His letter (24th August, 1894) was somewhat Spartan. "You must not think much of not sleeping above five hours at your advancing age. I have scarcely ever slept above ten minutes more than that since I was thirty."

[2] Mr. Wallis had just married Miss Margaret Williams, a sister of the future Mrs. Wordsworth.

[3] His letters run from January to August, 1895. Some of them were printed in numbers issued after his return.

[4] On the S.S. *Ormus*, in which he sailed to Australia.

would have given spirit and fun to them all and helped many, perhaps for life, by a few serious words now and then. I feel wretchedly inadequate, but I go on with my sermons and Bible class. The Bible class is interesting, as being that sort of chance gathering that suggests such numberless possibilities. The constituents are held together by external pressure, but when they separate will scatter very wide. God grant they may carry some of His seed!"

He had resolved that in his travels he would not only see as much but also do as much work for the Church as possible; and he undertook it in the belief that, representing the experience of the Mother Church, he was offering more than his own individual services. He was not sparing of his suggestions for the strengthening of the social, the ecclesiastical, and even the political life of the young communities which he was visiting. He was an imperialist, if a sane one, and was thankful for what he saw. But he found something to criticise. In New Zealand he notices—

"the attempt to make every one more or less comfortable on purely civil lines. I seem to see something like Switzerland growing out of it—an intelligent but *hard* society of small people. But of course the conditions and especially the closeness of surroundings are very unlike."

Two drawbacks which forced themselves on his attention were secular education and religious rivalry. He wrote to Archbishop Benson [1] on these aspects of New Zealand life:—

"The great defect is the working of the secular system in elementary education. The result is lamentable ignorance, and much indifference to religion and magazine agnosticism. I have done all I could to help on the movement for some recognition of religion on the Sydney plan, and I believe it might be carried if Churchmen were accustomed to act together

[1] At sea, 13th March, 1895.

strenuously in elections, local, municipal, and parliamentary. But they have gone in for protests and petitions, and largely shirked doing their part in making what they could out of the *status quo*. It makes me miserable and indignant to hear good men speak as if they had served God by having nothing to do with the secular system. If they had sat on School Committees from the beginning they might have almost transformed it by this time. But they have let these Committees get into Presbyterian and Wesleyan or indifferent hands, and these see that the Bible in schools means an opportunity at any rate of teaching Church doctrine, and out of jealousy and fear they often prefer to keep things as they are, and even forbid teaching out of school hours in the school buildings, which the law contemplates. It is a miserable result of sectarianism, which in New Zealand means four or five ministers trying to get a living out of a parish which can only comfortably support one or two. And this touch with the commercial element of calculation is degrading to religion all round. There is little bitterness and personal hostility, but much jealousy."

But he found more pleasure in making suggestions than criticisms. Thus, for instance, after his return he wrote to Bishop Wallis on a problem which was exercising the Church in New Zealand, that of women's share in its government [1]:—

"I wish I could help you in regard to the woman's franchise question. It seems to me that household suffrage is the right thing, and that the Christian family is the true (Church) elemental unit. I could readily go so far as to sanction a woman householder having a vote, but not at present further. Among us a woman householder may be a churchwarden and has a municipal franchise. I have had several female churchwardens, and have one now. Why should you not propose this as an experiment—that every woman, being a member of the Church, who is also a ratepayer should have the vote?

"The Scriptural authority, to which attention has no

[1] 4th August, 1895.

doubt been called again and again in your debates, appears to be chiefly in two passages of St. Paul's Epistles, 1 Cor. xiv., 33, 34, and 1 Tim. ii. 12. (1) It is not improbable that the last part of v. 33, 'as in all the churches of the saints,' belongs to this subject and is the authority of precedent on which St. Paul relies in laying down the principle, 'Let the women keep silence in the churches,' *i.e.* the assemblies, whether for worship or debate, 'for it is not permitted unto them to speak, but let them be in subjection, as also saith the law,' the reference being apparently to Gen. iii. 16. (2) In 1 Tim. ii. 12, 'I permit not a woman to teach nor to have dominion over a man, but to be in quietness,' it is a question whether 'to teach' is absolute or means 'to teach her husband.' It would in any case, I think, forbid public ministry of the word in the congregation, since her husband might be one of the number, and *a fortiori* I suppose other women's husbands would be excluded.

"Throughout I think it is clear that by 'women' we are to understand married women. It does not seem to have been a practical suggestion that unmarried women, who were clearly still regarded as being under parental control (see 1 Cor. vii. 36), should take up such a position. The other clearly was thought of and debated, and decided adversely to their claims at that time.

"I am inclined to think that we have not advanced far enough to break down the barriers of control, under which women living in a family, either as wives, daughters, or servants, or single women living in lodgings at present are, as regards taking part in the government of the Church. I think that the Church cannot afford to try experiments, as the State in a small community like New Zealand appears to be able to do. Our work is for eternity, and we must go slowly and surely.

"But there is a new class of women called forth by civilisation—heads of families, ratepayers, and the like, whose case St. Paul obviously did not have before him. They may have existed, *e.g.* Lydia at Philippi, in a small degree, but with nothing like the frequency of modern life. To such women I would give the franchise, but not allowing them either to 'speak in church,' *i.e.* to be members of the Synod,

or to 'teach,' *i.e.* to be ministers of the congregation. It seems to me that the Synod is an assembly of the Church for purposes of doctrine, and that all members of it are *potentially* clergy. On the other hand, so far as Church or State assemblies are not concerned with doctrine, precedent is rather in favour of their having a position."

The chief events of the journey were an ordination at Adelaide before Christmas, the consecration of Bishop Wallis on the 25th January at Wellington, and a confirmation at Suva, in Fiji, on the homeward way across the Pacific. But the interest lay in great part in the observation of things and of people. Plants and birds and building stones, the art of erecting a dome as exemplified in a new English church at Port Said, the principles of Maori architecture, the structure of the Maori and Fijian languages were some of the objects of attention. The Bishop was sure that he would soon have become proficient in colloquial Maori. In the leisure of his voyages—he travelled on no less than eleven vessels, for distances long or short—the Bishop resumed the composition of poetry. Of several sonnets which he published in his *Diocesan Gazette* one may be repeated here. It was addressed to his friend Miss Yonge. He belonged to the generation that had been touched by her stories, and for him, as for her, the deeds of Selwyn and of Patteson and the early history of the Melanesian Mission were among the most stimulating of Christian achievements.

To Miss C. M. Yonge.

The "Daisy Chain" and Mission Buildings at Kohimárama.

"Blest is the power that can inform the heart
Through imaged scenes or forms; can so impress
The gazer's eye, that he doth straight possess
What time or space by distance long dispart.

But yet more blessed is that writer's art
Who fills the minds of readers numberless
With noble thoughts and aims of saintliness.
Such, Lady, was and is thy happy part
To trace the beauties of an English home,
To teach our children how their lives may set
To help each other upward and become
Like Guy or Felix, Richard, Margaret,
Ethel or Norman. Hard it were to sum
The debt we owe to thee, and harder yet
'Neath these gray buildings which to far-off men
Proclaim the consecration of thy pen."

The long journey had improved his health, though the exertions he had made and the damp heat of the voyage across the Pacific lessened the benefit. The last stages were a rapid journey in the railway from Vancouver to New York and a passage to Liverpool. Thence he went to Oxford, "still more like home than any place on earth," on a visit to old Mrs. Coxe, and reached Salisbury in time for the Diocesan Synod, which had been summoned, before he sailed, for a date a week later than was usual. It was held on the 2nd and 3rd May, 1895, and the Bishop immediately entered upon his confirmation tour, punctual to the days arranged. But there was still a pensiveness about his thoughts, as when he discoursed to a friend [1] on the problem of pain :—

"Pain seems to me to be connected with limitation, the squeezing up of anything either in space or time. It will not belong to the future life, because there will be liberty there, that is, power of indefinite growth on all sides, though there will be (as St. Irenaeus well says and St. Paul implies) still faith and hope, *i.e.* always something unattained but before us as attainable. Hence, while it is difficult to accept James Hinton's point of view, I think we need not consider pain in itself an evil thing. If it could be spread out and expanded

[1] The Rev. G. F. Hooper, 31st October, 1895.

it would probably be a good thing, and religion helps us to do this to a great extent. Death, for instance, is a necessary thing so long as we are in the body. It is only in its mode that it is a curse—at least if I read Scripture right. I always like Hesiod's description—

θνῆσκον δ' ὡς ὕπνῳ δεδμημένοι.

'They died as men o'erpowered by sleep lie down.'

To some it is little more than a 'translation,' as Miss Durnford said of her father [1] recently."

And so he wrote to his friend Bishop Wallis [2]:—

"God seems graciously to bless our thoughts and to let us carry them out, but of course we feel that it is always a matter of daily permission which He may think fit at any time to withdraw."

He was at once involved in two tasks, one pressed upon him by public duty and the other by family affection, which compelled him to dwell upon the specific qualities of the Anglican Church. Just before his voyage there had begun those negotiations (if that be the right term) between the Abbé Portal and Lord Halifax on the one side and Archbishop Benson on the other which led to a widespread discussion of English Orders and a Roman decision on the subject. In that debate, as will be seen, the Bishop took his share. While he was engaged in it, he was also employed in studying the problems of reunion in Scotland. He had undertaken to complete the biography of his uncle, the Bishop of St. Andrews, whose life had been devoted to the reconciliation of Episcopalians and Presbyterians in the country of his adoption. This work also finds mention hereafter. The considerations thus brought before his mind led him to emphasise, quite in the spirit of Bishop Creighton, the special powers

[1] Bishop Durnford, of Chichester, had just died on the 14th October.
[2] 4th August, 1895.

and opportunities of his Church. Thus at the Norwich Church Congress in 1895—no Bishop took more frequent part in such congresses than he—he expounded his views:—

"At the Reformation in England the way was prepared for exhibiting such a new type of Christianity as was necessary for the further development of the Universal Church. The revolt against errors, and the return to primitive and Catholic truth, were both necessary—but mainly as the prelude to this higher and more worldwide mission. Without criticising Greek or Roman, Protestant or Reformed, we may say that the Anglican Church has a call to be something different from any of them, and for their sakes almost as much as for our own. If only we could realise the Lord's word when He was taking up His Cross, 'For their sakes I sanctify myself that they themselves also may be sanctified in truth' (John xvii. 19). We have work to do which they cannot do, which would otherwise be left undone, which our previous history and discipline, and our present opportunities, give us facilities for doing, and which no other Christian society can reach. It would be treason to the whole of Christendom to falter or turn back in this work."

He was soon to enter upon a new domestic life. His home had been governed for him since Mrs. Wordsworth's death by his sister, Miss Susan Wordsworth, afterwards Head of the Southwark Diocesan Society of Grey Ladies.[1] On the 2nd January, 1896, he married Mary Anne Frances, eldest daughter of Colonel Robert Williams, of Bridehead, M.P. for West Dorset. Of this marriage were born in due time four sons and two daughters. The Bishop, as many families in the diocese knew well, was devoted to children. From his own experience he was able to tell a friend,[2] "Children are certainly a great blessing; not only a tie to the world but a detachment from it, for each has an eternal side very manifest."

[1] Miss S. Wordsworth died in 1912.

[2] The Rev. G. F. Hooper, 22nd August, 1906.

The next two years were fully occupied by literary work, especially the life of Bishop Charles Wordsworth, by the Roman controversy, the current phase of which ended in March, 1898, with the reply of the Archbishops to Cardinal Vaughan's *Vindication of the Bull Apostolicae Curae*. Amid these labours came the Lambeth Conference, in which the Bishop took a large part. He was charged by Archbishop Temple to translate its Resolutions into Latin. Whether, as he had done in 1888, he translated them also into Greek I do not know. In any case he was commissioned by the Archbishop to present them ceremoniously to the great prelates of the East, and left England for the purpose on the 30th December, 1897.[1] He reached his home again on the 28th February, having visited Alexandria, Cairo, and Port Said, Cyprus, where he spent a week, Beyrout, Damascus, Galilee, Jerusalem, Jaffa, Alexandria once more, Athens and Constantinople, whence he returned by land. He presented the Resolutions to the Greek Patriarch at Alexandria, a venerable pontiff whose age was variously given as 104 or 108, and the Coptic Patriarch at Cairo, in whose Church he was already deeply interested. There he formed plans, of which only a small part has been executed, for the education of the Copts and especially of their clergy. His recorded impression of Egypt was—

" in this country the power of persevering human labour, the great influence of the instinct of worship, and the expression of sympathy with human mortality are felt perhaps more deeply than in any other part of the globe, and felt all three of them with something like equal force. Our Lord may have been a child of over a year old when brought into Egypt, and may have been intended to receive impressions as to His human soul from the wonderful sights about him. Certainly

[1] Letters describing this journey ran in the *Diocesan Gazette* from March to July, 1898.

Egypt has lessons for all of us, especially perhaps for Englishmen."

In Cyprus he found a rural clergy "intellectually about on the level of our English parish clerks, and socially on that of our very smallest farmers." Here again he framed schemes for clerical education, and suggested that, after the pattern of England in 1836, an Ecclesiastical Commission should be appointed to redistribute the revenues of the local Church. In Syria he carefully examined the various missions with which he came in contact, and interviewed several Bishops, one of whom was—

"something of a theologian. I talked with him about our Baptism. He argued, 'We cannot say that Western Baptism is valid; only that it is valid when a person is willing to join the Orthodox Church.'"

On his way over the mountains towards Damascus the train was stopped by snow, and the Bishop, who seems not to have had his luggage with him, spent St. Paul's Day at Baalbek. That he might celebrate the Holy Communion he borrowed the robes of the Greek priest of the place.

From Damascus, where he could not fulfil his commission, the patriarchal see being vacant, he made his way through the Hauran and by boat across the Lake of Galilee to Nazareth, observing Jewish colonies and Christian missions as he passed. At Nazareth he wished to see a brightening of the austere services of the Church Missionary Society. A surpliced choir and a more liberal use of music would, he thought, impress and stimulate the local Greeks. The general result upon his mind of his observation of Palestine was expressed in a very Wordsworthian passage:—

"It is evident that its people must be chiefly frugal

mountaineers, shepherds, and most careful and laborious cultivators of vines and olives in order to earn a living from the soil. Such men naturally become hardy, warlike, and thoughtful. They are sufficiently near the world to know its thoughts and its ways; sufficiently far from it to be able to criticise and to estimate them at their true worth."

At Jerusalem visits of state were paid to the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs and to other dignified clergy, and a careful study of the antiquities, so far as time allowed, was made. Then, by way of Jaffa, Port Said, Alexandria, and Athens, Constantinople was reached, and a visit, the most important of all, was paid to the Œcumenical Patriarch, to whom the Resolutions of Lambeth were presented and with whom converse was held on the relations of the Churches. Soon afterwards, as a practical token of sympathy, the Bishop and other English friends gave to the see of Constantinople a press for the printing of an edition of the Greek Testament.

A sequel to this visit to the East was a lecture at Oxford to the Summer School for Clergy on "The Church of England and the Eastern Patriarchates." [1] It shows a profound knowledge of detail, much of it of his own discovery, on the famous Cyril Lucar, the English chaplaincy at Aleppo, Greek students at Oxford in the seventeenth century, and so forth. It had a practical purpose; it ends with "Blessed are the peacemakers." In this singularly busy year the Bishop issued his *Considerations on Public Worship*, which was thrice reprinted within twelve months, and is his most important contribution to the subject of ritual. In 1898 also the edition of the Vulgate Gospels was completed by the publication of the fifth *fasciculus*.

It had been hoped that in the journey to Jerusalem two objects might be accomplished. One of them was

[1] Not published till 1902 (Oxford, Parker) and still in print.

disappointed. St. George's Church, which was being built as a Cathedral for the English Bishop in Jerusalem, was not ready for consecration. The Bishop of Salisbury had been appointed by Archbishop Temple to act as his representative for this purpose as well as for the visit to the Patriarchs. During the summer the building was finished, and the Bishop arranged to consecrate it on St. Luke's Day, the 18th October.[1] The occasion was one after his own heart, and he did not grudge the time and cost. It enabled him to display in action the results of his long study of the history and the principles involved in the consecration of churches. On his former visit he had been careful to invite the chief ecclesiastics of Jerusalem to the ceremony, and when it was held the representatives of many Churches and the consuls of eight nations were present. The service, at which the Bishop preached and took the chief part, was worthy of the occasion. The Bishop's throne, modelled on St. Augustine's chair at Canterbury, was his own gift to the Cathedral, and it was at his suggestion that four episcopal canonries were established in it. Of one of them he was the first occupant. He was at home on the 10th November; his whole absence, during which he had revisited Alexandria and Cairo as well as Jerusalem, had been only for three weeks.

During these two Eastern journeys he had been as observant as ever. Inscriptions, ancient as well as those of the crusading time, were diligently copied and interpreted. He made a beginning of Arabic, written and colloquial, and was able to confirm in that tongue at Nablous. He studied the fishes of the Lake of Tiberias and noted many natural phenomena. The architecture of the country, the vestments of the Oriental clergy and

[1] This journey is narrated in letters to the *Diocesan Gazette* from December, 1898, to March, 1899.

the comparative merits of the missions at work in Palestine were examined and described; and in particular a detailed record was made of the persons employed in religious work, their characteristics and their circumstances. It was very natural that the knowledge so acquired, together with previous familiarity with European conditions, should have led the Anglo-Continental Society [1] to elect him its President in place of Dr. Maclagan, Archbishop of York. This was on the 16th November, immediately after his return from the East, and the office was one which he took very seriously. In everything except the number of its members it throve in his hands.

In this same year, 1898, he bought the beechwood and the steep hillside below it on the slope of Harnham Hill nearest to Salisbury. On the ridge there had been a rough sheep track to which, though the land was private property, the public had had access. The Bishop broadened it out to a convenient path, which he extended to join the older "Dean's Path" to the west. He wished his work to be known as the "Bishop's Path," and in a letter to the Mayor of Salisbury made known his desire that the people should freely enjoy it, with its unequalled view over the city and Cathedral, so long as good order were observed. This freehold enabled him to indulge in his favourite pastime of building. First one, and then a second house was erected; and soon he was planning the acquisition of his cottage, to which he added by degrees as his household increased, on the shore of Lulworth Cove. This retreat in Dorset came to be not only a home but a centre of hospitality.

The next few years, though busy, were uneventful. The interests which filled them, apart from the routine of diocesan work, fall within the scope of the chapters which follow this. A few incidents and utterances are chosen,

[1] For its history, see p. 93.

almost at random. On the 19th February, 1899, he preached at Oxford, and wrote to a sister [1]:—

"I enjoyed my sermon to undergraduates on 1 Peter ii. 21, showing that the application of the idea of partaking in Christ's sufferings was made to the slaves and household servants because they formed a class specially needing help in those days. The class which specially needs help now is one which does not suffer oppression, but needs to be drawn out of its comfortableness and self-sufficiency. The side of the mystery of the Incarnation now needed is not so much the actual picture of the sufferings of Christ as the remembrance who He was (and is) that so stooped to a narrow and patient life."

In 1901 he wrote the inscription for the piece of plate presented to the present Archbishop of Canterbury by King Edward after the death of Queen Victoria:—

"RANDALLO WINTONIENSI
REGINAE VICTORIAE
IN AEGRITUDINE IN MORTE IN EXEQUIIS
FIDELI MINISTRO
E. R. I.
A. S. MDCCCCI"

On the 22nd February, 1902, he preached, being the first person outside the communion of the Church of Scotland to do so for 230 years, in King's College, Aberdeen, and delivered the Murtle Lecture before that University. His subject was, "The bearing of the study of Church history on some of the problems of home reunion," and in it he suggested "a common catechism, a book of instruction on the Bible and on Church history with the elements of Christian doctrine, drawn up by leading men of England and Scotland," which might be introduced into State schools in England, Scotland, and

[1] To Miss Susan Wordsworth, 22nd February, 1899.

the Colonies. He was about this time paying frequent visits to Scotland in search of material for the life of Bishop Charles Wordsworth and for suggestions towards the reunion to which his uncle had devoted his efforts. On these visits he preached, and printed, sermons on occasions more or less memorable.[1] In 1902 he was threatened with a serious illness. He recovered after a course of German waters and a visit to the Engadine, which prevented his attendance at the Coronation of King Edward. In 1903, he ministered, as Bishop King of Lincoln did in a like case, to a convict under sentence of death in Devizes gaol. He paid him more than one visit, confirmed the man, administered to him the Holy Communion, wrote to him before his execution, and was able to think with comfort of his state.

In 1905 the Bishop presided over the annual Church Congress, which was held at Weymouth. It was well organised and all passed happily. He wrote his impression to Bishop Wallis [2]:—

"The papers say it was a success. Certainly it was a very pleasant and devotional time, unmarred by any bitterness or bad taste or personal jealousy. The stalwarts made out that it was dull, and both extremes abused the Bishop of London's sermon, and (for all I know) my presidential address, which was somewhat on the same lines. . . . The Revivals meeting was full of inspiration, and must have done good to all who were present at it. That on the devotional study of the Old Testament was too apologetic in parts. The devotional meeting did not tackle the real problem, how to deepen the consciousness of sin, etc. We ought to have been told how people come to be indifferent to sin, and how they should be

[1] On the 10th October, 1900, at the annual meeting of the Scottish Episcopalian Church's Representative Council, in St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh; on the 30th July, 1901, at the dedication of the Chapter House of St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth, built in memory of Bishop Charles Wordsworth.

[2] 20th October.

made to care more. The subject is worthy of a good deal of deep thought. But the whole impression of the meeting was excellent."

In 1905 the Bishop completed twenty years of episcopate, and on the 8th November he was presented with a service of plate and with his portrait for the Palace, painted by Sir George Reid. There were nine hundred subscribers, and speeches of gratitude.[1]

The death of Mr. Clifford Wyndham Holgate, barrister-at-law, a Brasenose pupil and from 1885 the Bishop's legal secretary and close friend, had happened in 1903, soon after his promotion to the Chancellorship of the Diocese. He was succeeded in the secretaryship by Mr. Carnegy Johnson, barrister-at-law, with some of whose reminiscences this chapter may end.

"It needed some months' knowledge of the Bishop to find that, as no one ever quite came up to his expectations, he had become so inured to looking for more than he got that it came as no surprise to him to find gaps. At first one felt mortified, and he probably wished it as a salutary incentive. Later on one was more apt to wonder how much ignorance the Bishop would stand. For he was wonderfully tolerant of stupidity, unless he thought you were complacent; then he did not puncture your vanity, but disembowelled it. I remember on our way back from Marlborough once deliberately challenging his remarks on a subject on which I 'fancied myself.' An article in a popular magazine had been written from notes and materials which I had supplied. I had not seen it till I was at the bookstall: bought it, and in the course of the wearisome journey showed it to the Bishop. He was quickly on the warpath with 'Why? . . . Why? . . . Why?' and because I was rather uppish he did not drop the subject till he had demolished all my defences. But to show vexation over one's own mistakes was almost certain to gain

[1] Sir G. Reid painted a second picture, which was given to Mrs. Wordsworth. The Bishop had a copy made for his school.

prompt forgiveness. Sometimes I would have to go to the Bishop with, 'My Lord, I have got into a tangle with so and so,' and without a grumble he would bring all his mind to bear upon the matter so that the man or place should not suffer. 'If we have got him into this hole we must get him out again.' How generous he was of that 'we' in identifying himself with the mistakes of his agents! Once I said, when in difficulty, 'I come to you for advice about this; not to get you to say it was your fault.' He smiled and said, 'My shoulders are broader than yours, dear fellow. Write "The Bishop much regrets, etc."'

"Once, when I was in attendance, the Bishop was with a person who, when I was introduced to him, cross-examined me on my qualifications, or lack of them, for my position. I came off badly in the matter of shorthand: 'Surely it would be of the greatest use to take down the exact words of such a master of English as the Bishop.' I was uncomfortable, as there was a great deal of truth in it, but I was consoled by knowing the Bishop was worse off than I. The flattery was gross and inartistic, and he was equally unwilling to accept it and to seem disloyal to a subordinate. At last he said in those curiously hard, dry tones which meant discomfort of some kind, 'He has a quick brain and generally grasps my meaning accurately enough.' However, the man was quite right; I often wished I could take down the exact words for a difficult letter, so lightly hit off by the Bishop, even though it were in parenthesis and he had been interrupted when deep in some other subject. At times I had to go back to the Bishop and tell him that I could not get the phrasing of some document right: 'Oh, very well, I will dictate it.' I never remember his grumbling at these failures to catch his expressions as well as his general intention. A draft or a proof-sheet seldom, if ever, escaped some revision, especially if it were his own work. But he was usually very merciful to a final letter unless the correction were on a point of importance. Then, 'May I use this as a draft?' Every sentence was rewritten, new-born additions festooned the margins and were asterisked on to the back of the sheet.

"Those who have known the Bishop better and longer than I will be more competent to say what appreciation he

had of things beautiful. I should suggest that it was almost subordinate to higher considerations. He wrote, for instance, the most beautiful prayers and therefore could no doubt appreciate the beautiful prayers of others, found in the little book used in the Palace chapel. But he would often utterly destroy their balance and rhythm by special petitions, lists of places urgently in his mind, and so forth. The beauty of his pastoral staff went for nothing as soon as he realised a symbol on it that offended him doctrinally. But another staff which he possessed had no such drawback, and it had the first place in his esteem because it had been his father's, though to my mind it was simple even to meanness.[1]

"The little prayer with which he inaugurated all kinds of proceedings impressed from its sheer naturalness. If one was not expecting it, was not in the vein for it, or was looking for something purely secular, one glance at his face as he stood there was enough to make one feel that a prayer to him at least, then and there, was essential, not the mere form appropriate to a high ecclesiastic. In the same way he could invest a little ceremony with real dignity of ritual, though the acts in more self-conscious hands would have bordered on the ludicrous. He once blessed a mission van in front of the Palace door. It was a garish green thing, and the people concerned looked awkward and anxious. The Bishop sent out several of his household to the door, and then appeared with his chaplain. A suitable hymn was got through somehow, with depressing rather than sobering effect, and then the Bishop mounted the steps of the van. Big man as he was, he seemed in his robes to overflow the little stage, absurdly disproportionate to his needs. But he was so intent on his set business, so clear as to what he wanted to do, and so clear how to do it, that all fear of ludicrousness passed away, and one was left at the end with the single thought what a helpful service it had been. Not how well he had stage-managed it, for that was just what he never did. He left that to others to do if they liked, and thanked them for their care, trouble, and it may be success. And, in the main, he took the place

[1] This was the staff buried with the Bishop. The other is the staff that came from Radley; see p. 296.

assigned him and carried out the arrangements made for him in services involving large numbers. But in his own services, arrangements seemed to evolve as things went on. 'Keep your eye on the Bishop' was my advice, when doubtful as to what exactly was going to happen, to some one who was to take part in it.

"I need not touch on the Bishop's boundless kindness and sympathy with those in trouble. There will be an army of witnesses to this if gratitude exists. People who have experienced it will be anxious to get it recorded if only to correct the idea that the Bishop was a hard, austere, absent-minded scholar, too much wrapped up in abstruse problems to be able, or to care, to see the thousand things which make up modern practical life. I would like people with these notions to have seen him mending the lock on the kitchen door, approving, correcting, or objecting to proposed sales of glebe, sanitary improvements in benefice houses, or exchanges of patronage; teaching his children their lessons or his clergy their business, secular as well as religious; hitting the nail exactly on the head with some remark which showed that this absent-minded dignitary had heard every word of an earlier conversation when he had seemingly, at some distance, been wrapped in a learned tome or in a reverie; checking bills, planning fresh buildings, or paying his servants' wages; catechising every visitor who had special knowledge and amazing him with the amount the Bishop already knew on the subject. I do not mean merely learned matters, but up-to-date topics, agricultural, scientific, political, or economic.

"Among outsiders it was commonly held that of course the Bishop had no sense of humour. This of a man who could refer at a public meeting to the General Manager of the local Bank as 'Our friend to whom we all owe so much—at least I do.' Or, to quote a really discreditable utterance for the sake of the illustration—[but here Mr. Johnson records a pun which would certainly have been immortalised by Dean Burgon in his *Twelve Good Men*]. I have chosen an instance of this kind in preference over those of the dry humour with which he would delight a Diocesan Synod, because I know that a certain grim humour is conceded to Scotsmen and other

intellectuals, without any admission that the charge of austerity is thereby rebutted.

"No one was more devoid than the Bishop of an episcopal 'manner' on great occasions. At the end of a long procession he would walk along, sometimes a little lame, with his hands clasped behind him. At times he would turn and give an order to one of those attending him. But with all his natural, unself-conscious ways, he was the big man of the ceremony, and though at ordinary functions he would have been the despair of a Master of Ceremonies, that officer (nowhere needed more than at Salisbury) would have been repaid tenfold by the Bishop on special occasions. Nothing could be more graceful than the attention which he paid to some high foreign dignitary, some Eastern Archbishop or Patriarch, and yet it was never overdone or fussy. He would escort him to the Sanctuary before ascending the throne, but after that, mindful of the dignity of his own Cathedral Church, he would tell off the Precentor or some other *persona* as a guide to the Oriental guest, or send him a book or a message by one of his chaplains.

"There were other times when he would assume the episcopal manner. One was when he was doing a kindly action, and perhaps wanted to carry it off quickly. When the Lord Chancellor and the two Archbishops, the Committee who had the statutory power to do so, reduced ecclesiastical fees in 1908, several of the Bishops, whose sympathy with the poverty of their clergy did not blind their eyes to the hardships brought upon the officials, wrote to see whether a general agreement by all the Bishops could not be arrived at, by which they should make up part, if not all, of the income of which their officials had thus been deprived, especially as it was not urged that the fees were too large, but simply that the clergy were too poor. Our Bishop replied that 'he did not see his way, considering the existing calls on his income as Bishop, to burden it further against himself and his successors.' A week or so later he sent for me to his study, and as soon as he began to speak I thought there was something seriously wrong: 'Mr. Johnson, in future I must ask you to render me a very careful account of all the fees you receive. I shall of course make up the deficiency, to the amount I told you the place was worth when I asked you to come here. I could

never look you in the face if I brought you here on one understanding and then let your income be reduced for outside reasons by £100 a year.' And every half-year, when I produced my statement, he, who ordinarily looked over accounts so carefully item by item, would glance at the total and at once say to his chaplain, 'Make out a cheque to Mr. Johnson,' for whatever was the amount of the deficit. It was only from thought for his successors that he let himself appear to the other Bishops in this rather hard and unsympathetic light, while acting with both generosity and forethought.

"If at one of the Palace 'hotel-lunches' the haphazard collection of guests settled down together fairly well, the Bishop, after a hard and long morning's work, would often be rather silent and abstracted, though it was safest to assume that he heard every remark made round the table. But when the company, ranging from the family itself and clergy who were to be instituted to benefices or had come in from the country for advice to ladies of the Girls' Friendly Society or the Women's Union, appeared a little depressed, the Bishop would rouse himself to be conversational. At the end of one lunch with rather sombre guests, teetotal, demure, or nervous, the Bishop said to several successively, 'Will you have some wine? Will you? Will you?' All refused, and looked so abstinent and almost pained by the suggestion that the Bishop as he rose remarked, 'At times a wave of temperance comes over the diocese which really makes it very difficult for me to get my wine drunk at all.' Another time at the end of a lunch every one had folded up his napkin tidily except one who had crushed it down in a heap beside his plate. The Bishop, while waiting for coffee, was moving about, talking and discussing the portraits on the walls. He caught sight of the crumpled napkin and looked at it severely. And each time it caught his eye it seemed to check what he was saying, so that soon everybody noticed it, and none more than the offender. The rest looked amused, well satisfied and thankful that they were not as this publican, till the Bishop finally looked at the delinquent and said, 'I am glad to see that there is at all events *one* who is willing to come and lunch with me again.' He could at times dispel gloom, if he could also create it."

At this point it seems best to forsake the order of time, and devote special chapters to the Bishop's acts and views in regard to the constitution and law of the Church, then to his pastoral and liturgical works and interests, and finally to his efforts for the reunion of Christendom.

CHAPTER XI

LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS

WITH the translation of Bishop Burgess from St. Davids in 1825 began a line of Bishops at Salisbury, all Oxford men, all scholars and all leaders in the Church, of whom John Wordsworth was the fifth. For a century before Burgess the Bishops, though some of them were eminent in various ways, had not been active as administrators. The last whose career could be compared with that of the Bishops of the nineteenth century had been Gilbert Burnet, a prelate whose pastoral merits have been concealed by partisan hostility. Bishop Wordsworth was his professed admirer. The modern organisation which Burgess had initiated was unusually complete and efficient, and Bishop Moberly had added the finishing touch by founding the Diocesan Synod. This was a representative body, elected from each Rural Deanery, of clergy and laymen; though the suggestion was made that the name should be changed to the conventional "Conference," Bishop Wordsworth, after consideration, retained that which Moberly had chosen. It was, and is, one of the most successful bodies of its kind; the attendance is larger, the debates brisker, and the spirit warmer than in some more populous and less scattered dioceses. The Bishop was proud of it. In 1893 he was visiting a Conference elsewhere, and says of it:—

"This Conference is nothing like ours in effectiveness and dignity. Of course ours was moulded into its present shape

by the late Bishop and Archdeacon Sanctuary and the secretary, Middleton.[1] I have done nothing for it except to carry on its good tradition."

He did, however, of his own responsibility at once add to it as unelected members the *quatuor personae* of the Cathedral, viz. the Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer. Its value, things being as they are, was chiefly that it enabled thought to find expression, and not least that it gave the Bishop, in his addresses as president, the opportunity of surveying the whole field of Church life for the instruction of his audience. It caused him at times acute disappointment, for resolutions, passed perhaps unanimously, seemed to him to pledge the members to a definite course of action, while many of them were apt to consider that they had simply expressed an abstract opinion which bound them to no specific efforts. And he did not succeed—indeed, he did not make the attempt—in carrying out a scheme of his earlier days for giving the Synod financial authority :—

" I may be wrong, but I believe that one of the most useful functions of such a body as our Synod is to consider what public appeals for money should or should not be sanctioned as Diocesan works. . . . As representatives of the Church-people of the diocese it seems to me that they—especially the lay Synodsmen—ought to perform something like the function of the House of Commons in voting money bills. Only, inasmuch as the money is to be given voluntarily, they would, by such a vote, pledge themselves to personal exertion in the cause of getting the requisite sum together. Of such exertions you have shown, with others, an admirable example. . . ." [2]

Something has been said already of the Bishop's respect for his Greater Chapter. He called this body

[1] Mr. H. B. Middleton, of Bradford Peverell, Dorset, was Lay Secretary to the Synod from 1871 to 1911.

[2] To Earl Nelson, 12th December, 1887.

together annually for consultation at Whitsuntide and at the annual Commemoration of Benefactors of the Cathedral in November, which he instituted in 1889, after the pattern which was first set by Peterborough in 1881 at the suggestion of Westcott. Archdeacon Carpenter describes the procedure at these meetings of the Greater Chapter :—

"The questions discussed were mostly brought forward by the Bishop himself; generally schemes of diocesan action which he was anxious to launch. His own personality and exhaustive treatment of the subjects he introduced left little to be said by anybody else, and I don't think, as a rule, the Chapter discussions helped him much, but with characteristic simplicity he generally wound up with grateful thanks for support, so that he could proceed 'after consultation with the Chapter' to take this or that step. One used to smile rather, but it was quite real to him, and I am sure he was right to call the Greater Chapter together in this way."

A more important assembly was the Synod of Clergy which the Bishop, following his father's example, summoned in 1888. The Bishop of Lincoln was the first since medieval times to collect all the clergy of a diocese for counsel, and it was his vigorous language, contrasting a Synod of the *totus clerus* with a "counterfeit assembly," a mixed Conference, that led the son at first to desire a change in the name used at Salisbury.[1] The procedure at both places was the same; the clergy in surplices met in the Chapter House of the Cathedral, and there debated. The purpose at Salisbury was that they should sanction, and so make personally binding on themselves, the resolutions of the recent Lambeth Conference. The assembly was repeated in 1897 and 1908,[2] and after full discussion

[1] *Life of Bishop Christopher Wordsworth*, 1878, pp. 230 f.

[2] The attendance at the three Synods was 440, 384 and 406 respectively.

the resolutions of the successive Conferences were, with one exception, affirmed. In 1908 the recommendation that the Prayer-book should be revised received 254 votes, while the opposition (a curious coalition) numbered 72, and "as this was not the proportional majority required by the standing orders, the resolution did not become an Act of the Synod."

The Bishop took care that his constitutional visitations of the diocese should not become a formality. Though he did not, after his experiment of 1888, attempt a detailed investigation of the morals of the laity, he took care by precise questions to discover from the churchwardens what went on in the churches; in his preliminary address to the wardens and sidesmen before the visitation of 1903 he oppealed *more suo* to history, quoting Archbishop Edmund Rich, sometime Treasurer of Salisbury Cathedral, who had ordered the "public excesses" of Bishops and other clergy to be denounced to him at his Provincial Visitation in 1236. A more novel visitation was that of the Cathedral in 1888. Here the Bishop was imitating not only his father, who in 1873 visited the Cathedral body of Lincoln, but also Bishop Moberly, who had done the same at Salisbury, in 1870. He was asserting a right which his medieval predecessors had maintained against fierce opposition, and had sometimes used to effect necessary reforms. There was no opposition in 1888, and in so decorous a corporation no reforms could be needed. The Bishop expressed the hope that the visitation would be the first step towards a revision of the Cathedral statutes. The hope remains unfulfilled.

The Bishop had clearly shown at his entry into the diocese that he meant to make full use of his powers in regard to the admission of the clergy to benefices. Thirty years ago patrons, even of the highest principle, were apt to regard the exercise of their rights as a private matter

into which Bishops should not pry. There was a little resentment at first over the publicity on which the Bishop insisted. He was in advance of opinion. But the general recognition of the value of full inquiry into the legal transaction and into the character of the presentee is largely due to Bishop Wordsworth's enterprise. He anticipated the law by several years, and his success convinced Convocation and Parliament that greater strictness was needed. Among other recent provisions of the law, the advertisement of a presentation on the church door is borrowed from his practice. When he was not satisfied with the presentee he used the weapon of examination. He appears to have been the first to employ it systematically; the famous examination of Mr. Gorham had been an exceptional measure in a doctrinal struggle. To take one instance; a clergyman had long been living a blameless and unclerical life as a gentleman farmer. His son grew up and graduated, and the father, through his wife, bought an advowson, where the incumbent was very aged.[1] Soon, but certainly without any illegal bargain, the incumbent resigned. The lady then presented her husband, who intended—he made no concealment—to occupy the benefice only till his son was qualified to take it. The Bishop wrote searching letters, appealing to the couple to examine their motives and put the welfare of the parish in the first place. They were of no avail; the lady persisted in her presentation. The Bishop fell back on his canonical right—"No Bishop shall institute any to a Benefice . . . except he . . . shall appear, on due examination, to be worthy of his ministry." The gentleman was told that it was so long since he had exercised his ministry that he must come to Salisbury and show that he was still competent. He demurred, but

[1] It may be of interest to note that in the eighties an advowson was worth between four and five years' purchase.

was legally advised to submit, came, was examined by the Bishop's chaplains, and rejected. The Bishop was soon able to make a satisfactory arrangement as to the patronage, the first presentation naturally falling to himself after a vacancy of many months. In another case, a young fellow of a College, who had taken the first living that came to his turn, was startled at hearing that he must answer questions in Curteis' Bampton Lectures and Blunt's *Church Law*. A little later, in 1888, in reporting to a Committee of the Canterbury Upper House, the Bishop has slightly changed his plan. He writes :—

"Personal examination of presentees in learning and doctrine: I have made it a rule to examine, under the 39th canon, whenever a presentee was only a short time in Priest's Orders, or when the patronage of the benefice had recently changed hands and the clerk was presented by some relation or family connection; whenever, in fact, I was aware that money had passed in his interest. I have had four cases of the former kind and two of the latter. In regard to the method of this examination and in reference to the words of the canon, 'and lastly shall appear upon due examination to be worthy of his ministry,' I took my Chancellor's [Sir J. P. Deane] opinion. He was of opinion that the presentee was supposed to be aware of the provision of the canon, and therefore could not profess surprise at an examination, but that it was not wise for the Bishop to require him to prepare certain books, and that, if rejected, a presentee should be rejected within the 28 days allowed by the canon. I have therefore in nearly all these cases contented myself with setting two papers, one on Pastoral care and the other on the Prayer-book, including a few elementary questions as to Church law, such as an incumbent would be certain to have to answer. Should there be anything like a grave case, I should of course examine more explicitly in doctrine. These papers have been set and looked over by my ordinary examining chaplains, and I have acted on their recommendation in admitting presentees. I have found these examinations useful in eliciting the

opinions of men who would otherwise have passed almost as strangers through my hands; and I have reason to think that the knowledge that examination is a reality makes both patrons and presentees more careful."

The Bishop also incurred the risk of litigation in regard to more prosaic questions of patronage. Perhaps the most interesting case was that of an ancient corporation which, a generation ago, contracted to sell a certain advowson while the benefice was full. The contract contained a stipulation that if it became vacant before the purchase was complete the society should present the nominee of the purchaser. It became vacant at once, by the institution of the occupant to another benefice in the gift of the vendors, and a gentleman was presented by the society, which did not state in what right it presented. This admission that something was wrong opened a grave question.

"They have tried, so to speak," said the Bishop, "to build a bridge over the vacancy by beginning the sale before the vacancy and holding it in suspense till after the vacancy had occurred."

And he divined the motive. It was—

" clearly an evasion, if not a direct contravention of the statute, since the society knew that the living was to be immediately vacant, and in all probability covenanted to receive a higher price in consequence."

He felt the danger—

" if a custom grows up of persons or corporations presenting the nominees of others and concealing the facts, it will be almost impossible for a Bishop to be certain with whom he is dealing."

If the law be defied in such a case, the punishment is that the presentation for the turn falls to the Crown. The Bishop appealed to the law officers of the Crown to

claim its right, but they declined, not being sure of success. The Bishop persisted. He refused to institute, asserting that—

"it has been abundantly proved to me that the course taken by the society is one unworthy of so honourable a body, and is nothing less than an evasion of the well-known rule of law that an advowson cannot be sold during vacancy so as to carry with it the sale of the next presentation."

The vendors began a suit in the High Court, but the Bishop was not dismayed. The action was then withdrawn, and as more than six months had been spent in the debate the presentation fell to the Bishop, who appointed, after careful inquiry, a member of the society. It is still the patron, and doubtless profited morally by the powerful homilies which the Bishop addressed to it through its Head.

On an important matter of conscience concerning patronage the Bishop wrote a letter which unfortunately has not been preserved. The facts, however, are accurately remembered. A body of trustees had offered, and a clergyman had accepted, the presentation to a benefice on condition that the services should be conducted after a prescribed fashion. This came to the Bishop's knowledge, and he told the clergyman in question that he had been wrong in making the promise and the patrons wrong in exacting it. They had had no right beyond that of presenting a nominee in priest's orders to the Bishop; he was bound only by the general law of the Church and by his oath of canonical obedience, and had no right to bind himself further. He was, therefore, free in conscience from the promise he had given, and in the execution of his duties must consider only the welfare of the parish and not the desires of the patrons.

In one important respect the Bishop had twice to

maintain his rights against the Crown. The question in dispute was as to the character of the deanery of Salisbury. To understand it the history of Salisbury Cathedral must be explained. It is a Cathedral of the "Old Foundation," descending unaltered in its constitution from the Middle Ages, while Cathedrals of the "New Foundation" were established by King Henry VIII., and provided with such statutes as he chose to give them. In them the Dean is directly appointed by the Sovereign, who sends his mandate to the Chapter, bidding them instal his nominee. The Bishop has no voice in the matter. But in Cathedrals of the Old Foundation the Dean was originally the Head elected by the Canons to preside over them, just as the Fellows at a College in Oxford or Cambridge elect their Head. The Chapter, after making their choice, presented their future Dean to be instituted by the Bishop as to the benefice of the deanery. In course of time the Crown deprived the Chapter of their right of choice. But this did not affect the Bishop's rights. The Dean was still presented, though by the Crown as patron, and was instituted by the Bishop. This process continued till the middle of the nineteenth century. When Dean Hamilton was nominated by the Crown in 1850, he was duly instituted by Bishop Denison, and the fact and date were endorsed on his letters testimonial. A change was made when Dean Boyle came in 1880. The grant to him was made in the ancient form, with mention (among other things) of fisheries attached to the office—the Dean can catch trout at the bottom of his garden, and the mention has proved of value for the maintenance of his right—but nothing was said in it about institution. For all that, Bishop Moberly instituted him. In Bishop Wordsworth's time a further innovation was made. In the case of Dr. Webb, late Bishop of Grahamstown, a bald and curt document was sent, merely bidding the Chapter to

instal. In fact, a Cathedral of the Old Foundation was being treated as if it belonged to the New. The Bishop naturally protested; he wrote to the Crown Office pointing out the error. The Crown Office refused to modify its formula, whereupon the Bishop conferred, and the Dean received, institution in spite of the defect in the letters patent. So again in the case of Dean Page-Roberts the Bishop made a protest which was ignored, and again he treated the nomination as a presentation and instituted the new Dean, describing the Crown by the ambiguous title of "Grantor." Perhaps in this strange conduct of the Crown Office there has lurked an Erastianism surviving from the time of Lord Westbury; but I have high legal authority for saying that more probably the mischief began in the careless choice of the wrong precedent, and has continued through official unwillingness to confess that a mistake had been made.

In the Benefices Act of 1898 the points which most interested the Bishop, who had taken a large share in the preparation of the Bill,[1] were the conversion of donatives into presentative benefices, and the reform of University elections to livings. The Universities were empowered to appoint committees for the choice of presentees instead of electing by vote, and the inconvenience of limiting the choice to men unbeneficed, however small the living might be and however desirable that it should be held in plurality, was abolished. University patronage often arises from the incapacity of Roman Catholics to present; the Bishop was ready, like Archbishop Temple, to remove this restriction, provided that the Bishop of the diocese were free to refuse the presentee without assigning his reason. This, however, is a reform that has not yet been enacted. The Bishop was the first to make

[1] See the *Life of Archbishop Temple*, ii. 332.

use, again with risk of litigation, of that provision of the Pluralities Acts Amendment Act, 1885, which enables a Bishop, after receiving complaint that a parish is neglected, to appoint a Commission, one member of which is nominated by the accused incumbent, to inquire into the way in which his duties are being discharged. A case soon arose. After repeated warnings the Bishop enforced the Act. The incumbent met him with an able and dogged resistance, but the facts were clear. It was shown that parochial duties both in church and among the people were persistently neglected. The Bishop appointed a resident curate, whose stipend under the Act was to be paid by the incumbent; it had to be exacted by proceedings in the County Court. The novelty of the occasion and the subtlety with which the opposition was maintained imparted to the case a difficulty and an importance which led the Bishop and his advisers to pay it a greater attention than its intrinsic seriousness might seem to deserve. But they were able to set a precedent of lasting value, and the labour was not wasted. As regards lay help in parishes, the Bishop took an active part in the efforts of Convocation to add regularity and dignity to the office of Lay Reader. He presided over the Joint Committee of Convocation which reported in 1905, addressed an open letter on the subject to the Archbishop in the same year, and did his part in drawing up the rules that were laid down on the subject.

But more important were the results attained in a stubbornly contested case, in which he won the victory and bore the cost, concerning a Bishop's powers during his visitation. The law was ascertained on several points which hitherto had been undecided. The circumstances were as follows. At Easter, 1900, there was a contested election for the office of churchwarden at Winterborne Came, a village near Dorchester. The Rector nominated

one warden, and then a poll was taken for the other. The Rector was in the chair. He voted as a parishioner, and when it appeared that the numbers for the two candidates were equal he turned the scale by giving his vote as presiding officer for one of them. The Bishop's triennial visitation was being held in 1900, and the authority of the Archdeacon had been suspended by the usual episcopal inhibition. Both candidates came before him at Dorchester, each claiming to have been lawfully elected. One said that he had a majority of the votes; the other that the Rector's vote was invalid, since he had exhausted his rights when he nominated one warden and had exceeded his powers when he voted also as a parishioner. Both presented their cases in legal form, and the Bishop reserved his judgment. On the 21st June he gave it.

"It is urged," he said, "that I have no discretion in the matter, but ought at once to admit Mr. Vine.[1] I might also, of course, entirely escape responsibility by admitting both parties and leaving them to take action in the civil courts. But neither of these courses appears to me consistent, I will not say with the dignity, but with the proper purpose and function of a Bishop's visitation court. I am here to prevent litigation, not to promote it, and to settle questions at once if possible. Nor do I think it is in the interests of the parish that two persons should be in the uncomfortable position of jostling against one another in the performance of duties which ought to be for the good and well-being of all. I believe also that it is recognised by the civil courts that the Ordinary may be expected to satisfy himself which of two claimants is really elected, and to admit the proper person, leaving it of course to the other, if he thinks fit, to prosecute his claim in the civil court."

The Bishop found that the question of the legality of the Rector's vote was one that had never been decided

[1] The candidate with the majority of votes.

either in the civil or ecclesiastical courts. He therefore sketched the history of the office of churchwarden and of the duties attached to it, from the Constitutions of Archbishop Gray, of York, in 1250 down to the Canons of 1604, taking account also of certain legal decisions affirming the right of the Rector to preside at the election. His conclusion was that the Rector ought to preside but ought not to vote as a parishioner. "Parishioner" is clearly a relative term and exclusive of the minister. It does not mean persons residing in a particular area, but persons under the ecclesiastical charge of a particular "parochus" or "minister." This he showed from Peckham's Constitution 27. The best method of election, according to the Canons of 1604, is a joint one. In a separate election the minister chooses one warden, the parishioners the other. The Rector was therefore going beyond his rights when he elected for himself and then shared in the election made by the parishioners. Hence the Bishop disallowed his vote, and so reduced the candidate he had favoured to a minority. The Rector's second vote, given as presiding officer, fell to the ground, there being no longer an equality, and the Bishop refrained from pronouncing an opinion as to its validity, had the votes been equal. He directed the surrogate to admit the second candidate to the office.

The Rector being dissatisfied, he and the warden whom he had supported required the Archdeacon (Mr. F. B. Sowter) to do what the Bishop had refused. Had the Archdeacon consented, he would have ignored the inhibition. He therefore declined, and the discontented party applied to the Queen's Bench for a *mandamus* to compel him to execute his office. That court was so ill-advised as to issue the order, an error which was duly corrected on appeal. On the 22nd January, 1901, the Master of the Rolls (Sir A. L. Smith), Lord Justice Collins, and Lord

Justice Romer upheld the Archdeacon's contention that his jurisdiction to admit churchwardens—

" was an inferior jurisdiction, and that the Bishop had, during his visitation, according to custom, inhibited the Archdeacon from exercising his spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction concerning, *inter alia*, the admission of churchwardens."

The Court was unanimous.

Having failed with the Archdeacon, the Rector and his warden once more turned to the Bishop, and applied for a ***mandamus*** to require him, as having superseded the Archdeacon at the date in question, to admit. This raised all the questions to which the Bishop had given answer in his original judgment of the 21st June, 1900, and on the 8th February, 1901, the Divisional Court, Justices Wills and Channell, decided them in the Bishop's sense, though not entirely on the same grounds as the Bishop. The matter was thus settled, for no further appeal was made, and points of lasting interest and importance were decided. The cost was considerable. The Bishop had shown his courage by persisting against the advice of his Chancellor, Sir J. P. Deane, whom Mr. Holgate, his legal secretary, found, just before the final trial—

" very infirm but wonderfully clear in mind . . . he wished you luck and thought it plucky of you to raise the point . . . but thought the law was decidedly against you."[1]

The Bishop was vigorous in maintaining what he believed were his rights as a Diocesan. When, at the beginning of 1888, the Bishop of London gained the services of a suffragan in Archdeacon Earle, the new Bishop was compelled by an Act of Henry VIII. to take as his title

[1] From a letter of C. W. Holgate to the Bishop, 7th February, 1901. Sir J. P. Deane was then 89 years of age, and died on the 3rd January, 1902. The present Sir L. T. Dibdin was the Bishop's counsel.

the name of one among certain towns, none of which was within the diocese of London. The title chosen was that of Marlborough. This seemed to the Bishop an encroachment on his see, and he was the more affronted because, as he wrote both to Archbishop Benson and Bishop Temple, neither he nor his Chapter had been consulted and he had been left to learn the fact from the public press. He urged that it would have been easy, as courtesy required, to obtain a private Act empowering a title to be given from some place within the diocese of London; Benson himself had recently obtained such an Act for the constitution of the Chapter of Truro. He told the Archbishop that he had a right to expect an expression of regret from Temple. Perhaps it is not surprising that he did not obtain it; but two years later a public Act was passed, which rendered lawful such titles as those of the Bishops of Stepney and Kensington, with which we are familiar.

A few years later he protested, and this time successfully, against a claim made by no less a person than Archbishop Temple himself to invade the domains of the Bishops of his Province. He wrote [1]:—

"I was very glad to read in the *Times* of Saturday, 20th, your reply to the Duke of Newcastle and others in defence of your decision, given on 31st July last, on Incense and Processional Lights.

"With the substance of your decision and your defence of it I should like to express strong agreement, and I should never have thought of objecting to the final words of the decision, expressing a hope that the clergy would accept it. But as you have put your defence of those final words in a broader form, for which you have challenged criticism, I venture to ask whether there is any known precedent for an Archbishop of Canterbury addressing a letter *officially* and

[1] 22nd January, 1900.

immediately to all the clergy of his Province in order to tell them their duty? To send a pastoral (letter) is a formal act, implying, it seems to me, immediate jurisdiction, and such, I have always held, the Archbishop of Canterbury neither has nor claims in the dioceses committed to his suffragans. I am afraid that such a claim does challenge comparison with the third chapter of the constitution *Pastor aeternus* of the Vatican Council. Of course you explain what you mean below, but the phrase remains and will, I fear, give trouble. You will, I am sure, understand my motive in writing this."

The great constitutional event of the Bishop's life was his share in the Lincoln trial. He took part as an assessor in two of its stages, and on two important points he was of a different mind from the Archbishop. The story has been so fully and clearly told by Mr. A. C. Benson in his *Life* of his father that only these differences of opinion need be dwelt on here. That they should have arisen was doubtless a grief to both, so strong was the affection between them. It was manifest during the actual progress of the trial. The Bishop was urging the Archbishop to come to Salisbury to take part in the laying of the foundation stones of the first church to be built in that city since the Middle Ages. The Archbishop resisted; he had too many employments; the burden of all the Churches lay upon him; were it in the Canterbury diocese he would not spare the time for such an engagement. The Bishop was inexorable. Among his pleas one was touching [1]:—

"Personally, I very much long to show you our home, as I now quite feel it to be. My father had, of course, never been here (not since Bishop Hamilton's time) as he had to Rochester, and the absence of such interest as he would have taken in our affairs can only be supplied by an old and elder friend like yourself. We have no children to transfer our impressions

[1] 24th September, 1890.

to. I think you will understand why we want *you*, above others, to come here."

A few days later he again writes to the Archbishop [1] :—

"I hope I quite realise the importance of the outside work, and the strain which it puts on the see of Canterbury, though of course no one can feel the burden in the degree you yourself do. I would only plead for the old centres of the home Province as having a claim upon the arrangement of journeys, etc., when you are able to move about, and *specially now that the Lincoln case exhibits a relation of the Archbishop to his suffragans which had almost faded from the memory of the Church, at any rate as a practical thing.*"

The Archbishop has surrounded the words in italics with a broad line of red pencil, and doubtless they influenced him to give a conditional promise of a visit to Salisbury. But it was not till the 27th April, 1892, that the Archbishop came, and performed the ceremony in pouring rain, after addressing the Synod, which was then in session.

The proceedings in Read *v.* The Bishop of Lincoln began with a petition from the Church Association to the Archbishop that he would hear the case in his Court. This was on the 2nd June, 1888; on the 26th the Archbishop stated that he was not sure whether he had jurisdiction. That point was referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Five judges sat with five episcopal assessors, of whom the Bishop of Salisbury was one, and on the 3rd August it was unanimously decided that the Archbishop had jurisdiction, and the case was remitted to him to be heard and decided.

The trial was to be "in the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury." But what, for the trial of a Bishop was this Court? There were grave differences of opinion.

[1] 7th October, 1890.

The Archbishop was sure that he alone was judge in such a case, and determined so to act. Bishop King was of another mind, and made a public protest in a letter to his diocese. Bishop Wordsworth, who had much sympathy with him, wrote to reconcile him to the Archbishop's action.[1] He was discussing the address to the diocese of Lincoln :—

"If I may say so, its spirit is admirable and worthy of the occasion. I like the beginning very much, and you have, of course, quite a right to quote my father's words about the Ornaments Rubric, representing, I think, his mature judgment on the subject. I have myself ventured to say a few words in something of the same spirit as your own about the 'out-of-dateness' of a rigid uniformity, in addressing our Synod of Clergy on All Saints' Eve. There are, however, one or two points in your printed letter on which I should like to offer suggestions. Is not silence as to your loyalty best in the face of such weak assailants? You know, of course, if it has ever been seriously doubted or impugned. . . . Could you not recognise rather more fully that the Archbishop has a heavy burden of responsibility in the matter, and has to think of issues and probabilities which may not be so evident to his suffragans? In fact, that in deciding to use his discretion to hear the case he has *possibly* decided rightly? . . .

"In writing as I did, I tried to represent what I supposed to be the Archbishop's point of view, and to keep my own opinions in the background. I think that, now he has decided to hear the case, the loyal course for me is to support him by stating what I believe to be his reasons for so doing. But you know, I think, without any expression in words, how strongly I sympathise with your trouble, and I believe enter into the feelings that compose it. I am very glad to hear that you have instructed three good lawyers to uphold the legality of the somewhat trivial points on which you are attacked. I think that is better than pleading yourself, which might (if you are unsuccessful) involve you in a direct conflict with

[1] 27th November, 1888.

the Archbishop. Even on St. Hugh's Day one would shrink from such a contingency."

If Bishop Wordsworth wished Bishop King to submit with a good will to the inevitable trial, it was not because he was himself satisfied that the tribunal was the right one. He did not say bluntly with Bishop Stubbs, "It is not a Court: it is an Archbishop sitting in his library," but in fact he was of the same opinion. There were, in his judgment, cases in which the Archbishop had the sole power of judging his comprovincial Bishops, but this was not one of them. He states his view briefly to his brother [1]:—

"My view at present is that (1) the Archbishop has some direct jurisdiction over Bishops, *e.g.* in the cases given in Canon 33, etc.; (2) he has jurisdiction, as in the Watson case, for criminal offences, such as simony, immorality, etc., sitting with assessors; (3) but by the Privy Council judgment in the Colenso case he has not jurisdiction in cases of heresy, which ought to be tried before a Synod; (4) that this ritual question is on such debateable ground between the two that no assertion or denial of his jurisdiction by himself ought to stand without appeal or reference to the Queen's Bench; (5) the cases of trials of Bishops by Convocation are weak."

A few days later he argued the question at length in a letter to Bishop Stubbs [2]:—

"I. It seems to me that the most solid ground, from an English point of view, is to be found in the Canons 33, 35, and 36 of 1603. In reading these I take it that 36 is to be interpreted and governed by 33 and 35. These Canons seem to prove two things:—

"(1) That the Archbishop has a Court independent of those in which he has delegated his judicial authority to the Dean of Arches and the Vicar-General or other subordinates;

[1] 4th April, 1889. [2] 20th April, 1889.

"(2) That the argument from Archbishop Sheldon's silence is not so weighty as at first seemed probable.

"On the other hand, I am not aware of any recorded cases of suspension by the Archbishop in the manner contemplated by these Canons.

"II. It seems to me that the precedent of Bishop Watson's case,[1] agreeing as it does with the dictates of common sense, would justify an Archbishop or Metropolitan in trying moral offences, such as those of which the Bishops of St. Davids and Clogher [2] were accused, in person with assessors, and not in Synod.

"III. The Privy Council judgment in the case of Bishop Colenso seems to me to have decided, and to have decided rightly, that an Archbishop or Metropolitan has not such a jurisdiction over his suffragans in cases of heresy. . . . I do not think that such a case can be tried except by a Synod of Bishops of the Province. If the Archbishop's judgment in this case should establish this great principle, the battle will not have been fought in vain.

"IV. As to ritual offences committed by a Bishop. These naturally divide themselves into those that touch doctrine, such as the omission or addition of words in the sacramental offices or liturgy, and the use of additional ceremonies which can be shown not to be heretical. If a Bishop is accused of heretical pravity in regard to ritual, the case should be judged as a case of heresy; but if he is accused of mere variation of ceremonies to which no such heretical colour is attributed, I see no precedent for trying him either in the Court of the Archbishop or before the Bishops of the Province. For (as you know better than I do) (1) such variation of ceremonies was no offence before the Reformation in a Bishop; (2) it has never been made so since by Statute Law, which has done

[1] Thomas Watson, Bishop of St. Davids, deposed for simony in 1699. There is no doubt that his conduct had been unsatisfactory, but he was a Jacobite and had not a fair trial. He was judged and sentenced by Archbishop Tenison with six coadjutors, or assessors. Bishop Wordsworth's argument deals merely with the constitution of the Court.

[2] Deprived in 1822 for a misdemeanour by his Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Armagh.

so in regard to Priests; but in the Public Worship Regulation Act it has specially kept Bishops out of its provisions, as previous Acts of Parliament did; (3) the Preface to the Prayer-book 'concerning the Service of the Church' recognises, to some extent at least, the *jus liturgicum* in the Bishops.

"V. I should be glad if the Archbishop could see his way to a judgment embodying I.–III. and pointing out that he is not convinced that he has jurisdiction in ritual cases. The argument might then be resumed on this point—taking as its basis the assumption that he has jurisdiction in moral cases, but not in cases of heresy except with his comprovincial Bishops. I should be still more glad if he would decline jurisdiction in ritual cases; but I very much doubt if he would consent to do so, having gone so far, without at least hearing the argument on both sides. He might, however, ask whether anything of heresy is attributed to the Bishop of Lincoln in this matter."

He ended the letter with the suggestion that the Bishop of Winchester (who, he assumed, was in agreement with them) should join the Bishops of Oxford and Salisbury in a representation to the above effect to the Archbishop. It does not seem that this was done. In a few days, on the 11th May, the Archbishop, after hearing arguments, decided this constitutional point. The Court was to be himself, but he would have assessors to help him. But the Bishop of Salisbury still held that a Bishop charged with heresy should be tried by a Synod, and that a Bishop has a *jus liturgicum* of his own which exempts him from such conformity as is required of the other orders of the ministry. In this spirit he wrote to the Archbishop after the preliminary decision [1]:—

"I was very sorry to have to differ from yourself and from others in this matter, but I cannot honestly give any other advice, nor do I see any reason to change my mind. I confess that I do not see how the two parts of the judgment of the

[1] 26th July, 1889.

Court hang together. It may be that 'minister' in the Holy Communion rubric includes a Bishop, but that does not prove that 'minister' in the Act of Uniformity does so, nor that the law has made any provision for trying a Bishop for a ritual offence. The Prayer-book is attached to the Act of Uniformity, but it derives its coercive force from the Act, not the Act from it. Holding this belief I am very much distressed that the judgment of the Court should be open, as it seems to me, to very damaging criticism. The fact that one of the assessors really agreed with me [1] certainly goes far to confirm me in my opinion, which otherwise I should have naturally distrusted."

This difference did not hinder the Bishop from throwing himself with zeal into the labours of the trial. He, like Stubbs, was one of the assessors in the great hearing which began on the 23rd July. Mr. Benson quotes a letter from Bishop Stubbs, written in 1896,[2] in which he says that—

"all the historical work done in the Lincoln Trial, saving of course what was done by the Counsel of the parties, was the work of the Archbishop himself, who collected the materials and drew up the judgment."

This is doubtless strictly true in regard to the judgment, but it needs to be modified, as concerns Bishop Stubbs, by what Archdeacon Hutton has recorded of his share in the case.[3] There we learn how much that Bishop did while the hearing was in progress. To it Bishop Wordsworth was equally attentive; but his notes on the case, accumulated during the sixteen months between the beginning of the hearing and the delivery of the judgment, are now deposited in the Library of Lambeth Palace, and show what further labour he devoted to a task which came

[1] This must have been Bishop Stubbs. See his *Letters*, edited by Archdeacon Hutton, pp. 315 f.

[2] *Life of Archbishop Benson*, ii. 378.

[3] *Letters*, p. 324.

to be, for the time, his chief employment. For throughout the long interval during which the Archbishop was maturing his judgment he was exacting from Bishop Wordsworth a toil as severe as his own. He plied him with questions, and demanded from him *précis* of facts and opinions on specified points, and yet (very properly) gave him no share in shaping the actual result. During that strenuous year, 1890, Archdeacon Bodington was residing in the Palace at Salisbury and has contributed his memories of the time :—

"When the Bishop asked me to live at the Palace as chaplain it must have been out of kindness, for I was so much out of health as to be of little use to him, but the six months I spent there were an immense revelation to me of power in life. Those were the days of the Lincoln trial. Archbishop Benson got all he could out of Bishop Wordsworth. The Archbishop's own sleep, he wrote, had been permanently reduced to some four hours a night. He seemed to be prepared to reduce the Bishop's to the same quantity ; rather, I thought, in the style of the Wellington master towards his assistant. Bishop Wordsworth, not always the most patient of men, bore it like a lamb. He was remarkably devoted to Benson, and was invariably pained by hearing him adversely criticised. This was due, no doubt, partly to his idealistic conception of the loyalty owed by a Suffragan Bishop to his Archbishop. Like Sir Walter Scott, he had something of the feudal mind. But this patient loyalty was also undoubtedly due to a very great confidence in, and reverence for, the Archbishop's abilities, character, and ideas about the Church. Bishop Wordsworth, like his father, had a horror of papalism ; and yet, curiously, he had great sympathy with those ideas of Benson's about the relation of the see of Canterbury to the rest of Anglican Christendom which to many people, especially to those beyond the seas, to Bishop Webb of Grahamstown, for instance, seemed to go beyond a hegemony of Canterbury and to have a papalising tendency. At all events, he worked like a slave for the Archbishop at this time, more, I think, from

loyalty than from any vivid hope of solving permanently the difficulties of the English Church. But he had deep sympathy with his old friend, Bishop King, and I think there was a hope in his mind that the facts of history might be found to come to his help. Yet I scarcely think that he anticipated such a general acceptance of the Archbishop's judgment as would bring peace. His view, then and always, was that the points in dispute were of little importance. But law is great, and the keeping of the law in the smallest points is worth a great deal of sacrifice. If only we could ascertain what the law is, we ought all to be content to give up our own predilections for the sake of the great principle of obedience to the Church. Accordingly he went to work, and his methods were characteristic. I do not know how much of the subject was referred to him for research, but I remember that the questions of the legality of the sign of the Cross in absolution and blessing, and of the two lights at the time of celebration, were included. We never knew at what hour he would start on his researches. Once, I remember, after a particularly hard day, he started at 10 p.m. with Clifford Holgate, myself, and a third, each with his appointed task. We were told what to look for, and where we might expect to find it. What a search through St. Augustine I had for some subsidiary point! From his chair he would suggest particular chapters, or even particular pages, of particular books. He seemed to know them all by heart, and his power of accurate quotation from a general memory of them was astonishing. Characteristically, his trust in us seemed complete, but I fancy it was always with one eye open. If you made a slip, he seemed to know it beforehand. On this night he was as mighty as I have ever known him. One by one we were sent to bed because we looked exhausted. I was the middle one to go, and most reluctant I was, but he was inexorable. Holgate, his always faithful henchman, remained with him till the end, which came at 2.30 a.m., when the Bishop retired to bed. But he caught the 6.30 train to London next morning."

To this I can add my own testimony, as a modest partaker in these tasks. The Bishop was interested,

before the trial began, in Canon Law. Already in 1888 he had suggested to Dr. Bright of Christ Church that efforts should be made to found a professorship of the subject at Oxford, and had received the discouraging reply that the attempt was useless, for no one in England knew enough about it. When occasion to study it came in the course of duty, the Bishop threw himself heartily into the pursuit. He collected almost a library of the relevant books, and they were such as gratified his scholarly instincts. *Gratior et pulcro veniens in corpore virtus;* he liked Lyndwood and Van Espen and Barbosa the better for their folio shape. He not only bought but read, and set others to seek for answers to questions which he framed, or gave them roving commissions to collect passages which might seem to the point. His share in supplying material for the judgment was assuredly not small.

When the judgment was given, on the 21st November, 1900, it had the full approval of Bishop Wordsworth. Preaching after the death of the Archbishop in Salisbury Cathedral,[1] he said :—

"It is a mistake to say that this judgment was not unanimous. The only point on which one of his assessors differed from him was the application of the Act of Uniformity to a Bishop. That preliminary point being settled at a separate sitting (23rd, 24th July, 1889) the judgment on the details of ritual, given 21st November, 1890, was agreed to by all the assessors."

And in a private note, dated the 4th December, 1890, he gave his own opinion of the judgment. He spoke of it as—

"fit to stand by the strong work of his two school-fellows, successively Bishops of Durham. Character of their work:

[1] 18th October, 1896, *Diocesan Gazette*, p. 239.

constructive and uncontroversial, seeking for the great abiding elements in the past yet not shrinking from minute details and patient study—not always without a certain idiosyncrasy and quaintness, inherited from Prince Lee."

With the Archbishop's judgment the Bishop's share in the case came to an end. He was not an assessor in the hearing before the Privy Council in 1891, and therefore had nothing to do with the dismissal in 1892 of the appeal against the Archbishop's decision.

At this point it may be well to mention the Bishop's view of the character of the episcopal office, in regard to certain irregular claimants who have perhaps excited more curiosity, and certainly have given more trouble to those in authority, than their intrinsic importance can justify. Specific reference to such cases, even were the material accessible, would lie outside the scope of this book. But no one had a larger share in these matters than the Bishop of Salisbury, and he had come in his later years to the definite conclusion that a Bishop is necessarily the Bishop of a certain see within a certain communion, and that were any one (if the term may be used) to be consecrated *in vacuo* on speculation he would not be a Bishop at all. There would be no need, as is sometimes supposed, to keep him in a kind of quarantine lest he should irregularly transmit what he had irregularly received; for since the necessary conditions, viz. a definite Church to accept him as its officer and a definite sphere in which the office should be exercised, were absent, he could not be regarded as being in any true sense a Bishop at all. I can only testify to this from his conversation; but much earlier he had held that jurisdiction and ordination are inseparable. Writing to the then Bishop of Stepney,[1] he says:—

[1] The Right Rev. G. F. Browne, afterwards Bishop of Bristol, dated 13th November, 1895.

"Originally the presbyter was ordained as presbyter of a particular church, and still he has a title as a necessary precedent condition in the Church of England. But in the common idea he is ordained a priest, and licensed to a particular cure afterwards. The two parts of his office, the order and the jurisdiction, have become separated. So it is with Bishops. They are first confirmed and then consecrated. I do not myself, however, see that it is possible to separate the two things as *theologians*. My idea is that a Bishop is consecrated Bishop of the Church of N., and that his confirmation beforehand is only accidental, for the sake of convenience."

On the value of a National Church to the nation and to its citizens the Bishop held the views that, with his training, were inevitable, and he frankly accepted the limitations involved in establishment. About one of these he wrote [1]:—

"I suppose the Royal Supremacy represents in its good form the power of Christian laymen, and all the elements of jurisdiction and influence in the Church which they may properly be supposed to exercise—patronage, assignment of dioceses and provinces, and gift of temporal honour and authority. The idea that there is a virtue in elective representation which is Christian (*e.g.* election of a clergyman by the communicants), as against another exercise of lay power which is unchristian, seems to me a Free Kirk and Puritan exaggeration. Both may act well and both badly.

"The fact is that royal power is one of the Old Testament ideas which belong to a patriarchal view of society, and that representative government belongs to the New Testament circle of ideas which suited small societies growing up from the bottom. But though the two are in this way historically contrasted I do not think that either is essentially wrong or essentially right."

In regard to wider questions of policy, the Bishop

[1] To the Rev. E. J. (now Archdeacon) Bodington, 7th September, 1895.

was chiefly interested in providing the Church at home with a more adequate representative system than it now possesses, and in giving greater coherence to the whole Anglican communion. The former matter was rendered pressing by the want, which he fully recognised, of a proper judicial system. The series of ritual prosecutions had had a scandalous result; there was disobedience because the Courts were not respected. The Bishop proposed a remedy in a learned paper on "The Reform of the Ecclesiastical Courts, Diocesan and Provincial," [1] which he read to his Greater Chapter on the 7th November, 1899. That body "without dissent passed resolutions generally encouraging the policy described in the paper." The scheme proposed need not be detailed here; perhaps the most interesting point in it was the recommendation of Bishops as judges on the ground of their cautiousness. He illustrated it by the moderation of the Upper House of Canterbury, as contrasted with the fervour of the Lower, in the matter of "Essays and Reviews." But it was vain to propose reforms unless there were some constitutional organ powerful enough to insist that they should be carried into effect. Therefore he wished for a "National Council" of the Church, and laboured hard for some years at a project which has in a certain measure been carried out.

He was led to make his plan public by a protest against what they regarded as disloyalty to the Church, made in 1899 by an important body of Dorset Evangelicals, headed by Mr. Mansel Pleydell. These gentlemen vaguely believed that in some way, if they would, the Bishops could suppress "Sacerdotalism and Ritualism." The Bishop pointed out that they had no such powers, nor yet the Courts. The latter were failing because they were not respected. The Church needed a new Assembly,

[1] Salisbury, Brown, 1900.

co-ordinate with Parliament, for the latter, no longer consisting of Churchmen, would not find time for such matters as Ecclesiastical Courts or the law of patronage. He sketched a constitution for the proposed Council :—

"Such a governing body might be found in the Convocations of the two Provinces sitting together—with such reform in their constitution as the changed conditions of life in this country may make desirable—and having by their side a House of Laymen much like those already existing. I will not enter into detail as to the safeguards necessary to the constitution of this body, so that any revolutionary changes in doctrine or ritual or polity may be avoided; but I will observe that the concurrence of Parliament might be secured, in matters of moment touching its proper sphere, by laying Statutes or Canons which it was proposed to enact, on matters involving the temporalities of the Church, for a certain period on the tables of both Houses. The right of the Crown to sanction Canons on matters of ordinary character would, of course, remain, and would no doubt be exercised much more readily if lay opinion were ascertained to be favourable to them.

"It appears to me that if the laity of the Church were thus secured their proper influence in its Councils at all stages, there would be an irresistible claim on our part for such a Court of Final Appeal as would be acceptable to Churchmen. I have expressed my own opinion that we cannot consider the present Court of Final Appeal as satisfactory. I am convinced that any attempt to enforce its judgments as creating, by interpretation, laws of the Church binding generally on the consciences of the clergy and people, is impracticable. Any endeavour to do so would be resisted by a very large body indeed, both of clergy and laity, and certainly not by extreme men alone. Yet it is right that decisions in a Final Court should be of the nature of precedents and not merely decisions *ad hoc*. It is necessary, in fact, to the peace of the Church to have a Final Court which can be brought under the Fifth Commandment."

In 1901 an important Joint Committee of the Canterbury Convocation was appointed to consider the position of the laity—

"with reference to legislation in matters ecclesiastical, elections of Church officers, and judicial functions in the early Church and under the constitution of the Church of England."

The Bishop of Salisbury was chairman, and had a large share in guiding the Committee and shaping its report, which was published in 1902. The report, which is of great value as history, ended with the recommendation that "a National Council should be formed fully representing the clergy and laity of the Church of England," and suggested the constitution, powers, and limitations appropriate for such a Council.

The Bishop anticipated the publication of the report in his address to the Synod of 1902 at Salisbury. Dwelling chiefly upon the embittered controversies of the time, he said :—

"The methods of party agitation and of boycotting are unlikely to find favour with any instructed Churchmen. They are too unintelligent and unspiritual, and altogether too rough, for the Kingdom of God. They may produce schism, they will not produce unity or promote progress. Irresponsible and amateur societies have to be tolerated; but they are offensive, often in a very high degree, to those who have a conception of what the ideal life of the Church ought to be."

He went on to speak of remedies for the confusion. Litigation was discredited, the Bishops were powerless, the Royal Prerogative was unworkable. He proceeded :—

"Then there is the method of consulting the Bishops, and calling upon them to take united action. This has a certain force; and I think I may claim for the body to which I have the honour to belong that we have done not a little both to promote unity and loyalty, and to encourage progress in

the Church, in the broadest sense. No one can look at the history of the four Lambeth Conferences, presided over by Archbishops Longley, Tait, Benson, and our present Metropolitan, without being struck by the unanimity and faithfulness and breadth of view of the Anglican Episcopate throughout the world. But neither a Lambeth Conference, nor a meeting of Bishops of the Church of England proper, can do more than advise. Neither has constitutional authority. And though our Bishops at home have made, and I think are making, every effort to show themselves worthy representatives of their flocks, they cannot claim to represent both clergy and laity as directly as the Bishops of the first four or five centuries could do, and as the Bishops of the Colonial and foreign churches of our communion actually do. This primitive representative character of the episcopate, and also of the presbyterate and other orders, is one of the points which have impressed themselves much on my mind in the study to which I have referred. You will find examples of it in the lives of SS. Cyprian, Athanasius, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine, Paulinus of Nola, and Martin of Tours, to name only a few of the most conspicuous. You cannot wonder that such men had a popular influence not possessed by others, who were only the nominees of a portion of the clergy or of the Court. I do not forget that Crown appointments in the country are made by a Sovereign, who is assisted by a Prime Minister chosen by the whole country. But he is chosen for many other reasons than the performance of this duty, and by many others besides Churchmen. Nor can I look upon the tendency of English law to make the nomination of the Sovereign absolute, to be very satisfactory to the consciences either of Bishops themselves or of the clergy and laity of the land. There is very great practical advantage in the way of nomination as opposed to election, but it needs some checks, and the fact that it is almost unchecked makes it difficult for Bishops to assume the fulness of representative character.

"The opening of Parliament to men of all or no creeds, and especially the large number of Presbyterians and Roman Catholics which it contains, make it obviously unfit to treat details of Church policy or internal management. The experience of the last half-century in the Colonies (since 1850),

and since 1869 in Ireland, have shown us that, where members of our communion are left to themselves, they organise Church government on very nearly the same lines everywhere, and that elected lay communicants sit with Bishops and clergy in council, to the great advantage of the community, and that they generally form a conservative element in this governing body.

"For my own part I have come to the conclusion that the time is now ripe to press for the establishment of such a body among ourselves. The existence of the General Assembly in Scotland, and, I may add, of the Ecclesiastical Council in Sweden, show that such bodies are not inconsistent with establishment. Nor do I think that it ought to lead to the dissolution or absorption of the Provincial Convocations. But I believe that the power of summoning a National Council has never been taken away from the Church, since it was not mentioned in the "Submission of the Clergy," or in the Act of Parliament of 1534 (25 Henry VIII., c. 19, Gee and Hardy's *Documents*, p. 195) founded upon it. Such a National Council is what we need, and we may take a precedent in its composition from so high a Churchman as St. Anselm, who in 1102 specially asked the King that the chief men of the realm might be present at a Council of Westminster, in order that whatever was there resolved might be observed firmly by the agreement of both clergy and laity (Wilkins, *Conc.* i., p. 382).

"How such a Council should be related to Convocations and Parliament, and to the Crown, I do not now wish to consider; but I will point out that it is quite possible for it to sit in different years from the Convocations, or for the latter to meet only formally in the years when the National Council was summoned."

So also, in a sermon in his Cathedral, on the 26th October, 1902, after the publication of the report:—

"We want, in fact, a National Church Council in which Bishops, Clergy, and Laity should be fully represented, which should legislate for the Church in place of Parliament, of course with the consent of that body and of the Sovereign. Such a Council exists in the Established Church of Scotland

in the General Assembly consisting of 371 ministers and 333 lay elders. There is no reason why one should not be created in England, with such differences as the different history of the two countries and the different constitution of our Church make reasonable. I do not venture to say that, if such a Council were created, all our differences would disappear, but I do believe that it is the one instrument of reform which the Church first needs, if it is to provide things honest in the sight of all men, and as much as in it lies to be at peace with all men."

And in a letter to a sister [1] he speaks of his own share in the matter. The Council is now taking the name with which we are familiar.

"I was much occupied with the business of the Joint Meeting of Convocations and the Houses of Laymen, which was considering my special subject, the proposed National Council, or, as I think we shall now call it, the "Representative Council." I had to open the subject, and spoke for over forty minutes. My motion, slightly amended, was carried with only three dissentients. This was a great satisfaction to me. The whole meeting was on a high level—good speaking and nothing disagreeable or unworthy of the occasion, and the Archbishop made an excellent chairman. The general result was all right, but the initial franchise of laymen was expressed in very lumbering language and is needlessly restrictive, and the carrying it out will cause great trouble. I am to be on committee to draft further details. . . .

"You will be thinking of the realisation of E. W. Benson's plans and hopes on Wednesday [2] with great thankfulness. It is a wonderful evidence of the blessing that attends a good desire, reasonably and yet warmly advocated. I only hope my plan of the National Council may have as good success after I am gone."

Finally, he was able to proclaim to his Synod on the 13th April, 1904, "it is my happy duty to announce

[1] Mrs. Steedman, 13th July, 1903.
[2] The completion of Truro Cathedral.

to you that this Council is now substantially in being." The six constituent bodies, the Bishops, Clergy, and Laymen of each of the two Convocations, had held a joint meeting, and all the six had separately, but in identical terms, requested the Archbishops to assemble a meeting of the Representative Church Council in July of that year. Such meetings have been regularly held since then, and if to the unimaginative it may merely seem that a seventh tributary has been swelling the river of words, there certainly are in this assembly the potentialities of future usefulness. If occasion should arise, it is ready to make its weighty pronouncement.

If a Council were desirable for the Church of the one nation, the Bishop felt that it was even more necessary to hold together the scattered elements of the Anglican Communion. Though his views remained unchanged till the end, the subject shall not be carried in this book beyond the Lambeth Conference of 1897. Canterbury, to Bishop Wordsworth, was the centre. Archbishop Benson, like Mr. Chamberlain, magnified the dominions and colonies. The interest he took in them naturally led to the magnifying of the metropolitan side of his office. Appeals of every kind and petitions for guidance flowed into Lambeth. Many of them were passed on with unhesitating confidence by three successive Archbishops to Salisbury. Many requests also were sent from divers quarters directly to Bishop Wordsworth. Among the letters of gratitude which followed his death none are more striking than those of Bishops in many lands who had profited by his counsels. But all this was somewhat unofficial. Canterbury had not the public status that corresponded with its real position. By 1893 Archbishops were beginning to be multiplied, and the Archbishop of Canterbury grew anxious that the honour should not be

lightly or irregularly conferred. He consulted the Bishop of Salisbury, who replied in haste [1]:—

"I am sorry that I can throw no light on the powers of a provincial Synod to create an Archbishop. I should be inclined offhand to say that 'Archbishop' was now little different from Metropolitan, though at one time it had more the sense of Patriarch. I think if the title is going to be taken all round (*e.g.* Cape, Australia, etc.) it might lead naturally to the revival or adoption of the Patriarchal title at Canterbury. Some kind of distinction is desirable, and perhaps it is advisable to denote the unity of the Anglican communion in some such way."

This jealousy for the dignity of Canterbury was shown also, at the end of his life, in a suggestion that the Archbishop should display his superiority to the only see that could possibly be a rival to his own. He wrote to Archbishop Davidson [2]:—

"I hope you will at least consider the gift of a pallium by yourself to the Archbishop of York under 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20, § 4, which is still on the Statute Book, and which was repeated for Ireland, 2 Eliz. c. 4, Ireland, in 1560."

His wish was for a definite constitution of the whole communion. He desired that no steps of importance should be taken anywhere without the previous assent of a Central Council, over which the Archbishop of Canterbury would naturally preside. The Lambeth Conferences had done good work, but they were informal. They had but prepared the way. Writing to his diocese from New Zealand, after a wide survey of Church life at the Antipodes, he sketched his plan for an Anglican Council and suggests the date for its execution:—

"Would it not now be almost time to go a step further, and does not the commemoration of 1897—thirteen hundred

[1] 29th October, 1893. [2] 11th January, 1909.

years from the landing of St. Augustine—offer a fitting opportunity for it? What is wanted, I think, is a voluntary compact on the part of the scattered Anglican Churches, from which the American dioceses might or might not desire to be formally exempt, acknowledging their submission in really important matters to a Council representing the whole body. We must, I venture also to think, beware of confusing judicial and conciliar business. The system of appeals to Rome has hampered, if not ruined, the Papacy as an organ of true Church government after the mind of Christ; and we must be careful also to emphasise the fact that reference to such a Council would be made, if made by our different Provinces, on the basis of 'voluntary consensual compact,' and not as a matter essential to faith or life. The orthodox Eastern Churches furnish us with examples of Churches holding the same faith, yet under Synods with very distinct powers and wholly independent of one another. But during the process of growth, and certainly as long as we are all subjects of one Sovereign, the Anglican Churches ought to have something like a common governing body, for purposes of united strength, authority, and comfort."

This letter was written just before the Bishop started on his voyage of return. He reached England before it appeared in print, and continued the subject in his address to the Synod on the 2nd May, 1895:—

"If we are to rise to the height of our mission it must be by making our unity secure and preserving intact our Catholic inheritance in the Ministry and Liturgy, in the doctrine and discipline of our Church. At present there is no desire or thought of improving it; but with a growing organisation of General and Provincial, as well as Diocesan Synods, of Primates, Metropolitans, Archbishops, and the like, will probably come a desire to strike out into new paths and to grapple with some of the problems which are manifestly set before us in possibly an impatient manner. It is as indications of such a possible movement that the action of the Archbishop of Dublin in consecrating Señor Cabrera, and of the

Church of Canada in assuming for two of its Metropolitans the title of Archbishop, become more significant than they would otherwise be. In themselves, there is much to be said for both actions. I have never been one to judge hastily of the act of the Archbishop of Dublin, whom I know well and love and honour much, and I can see that his act has had the double advantage of allying to our communion a body of Spanish Christians, who appear to have more merit than is often conceded to them, and who might otherwise have drifted into Presbyterianism, and of proclaiming in a very forcible way to all the world the value which we set on the valid succession of the Episcopate. Personally I have always doubted the expediency of the act more than its moral and ecclesiastical propriety. I mention it now partly to give you my own judgment upon it, which I think you are entitled to have, partly as an example of the need of consultation before any Province or branch of our Church takes steps in the way of union or intercommunion with other Christians, which manifestly in some degree involve the whole body. The act of the Church of Canada is, I think, abundantly justified by their own local position, especially as regards the established Roman hierarchy. But I should have thought it happier if it could have been carried out in consultation with the rest of the Anglican Episcopate. I was glad to find that this was decidedly the feeling of the General Synod of the Church of New Zealand, both as regards its own possible action and that which is actually contemplated by the Provinces of South Africa and Australia. The time, therefore, seems to have come when it would be wise to put into some concrete form the underlying principle of unity of action in regard to more important matters, which is implied and involved by our calling ourselves members of one great Anglican Church. The time seems to have come when not only the Bishops meeting at Lambeth in 1897, but the General and Provincial Synods or governing bodies of different groups of dioceses, should consider under what conditions true conciliar action should be taken by the Bishops of the different branches of our Church throughout the world, and how far they would think it right voluntarily to limit their own powers of making changes apart from such supposed councils."

It was natural that, having great knowledge and great enthusiasm, he should take the lead in a committee of Bishops appointed in 1895 to consider the "organisation of the Anglican Communion." It presented a report, which he had drawn up, to a meeting of Bishops held early in 1896. His note on his own copy runs :—

"This was never published. It led to my being chairman of the committee of the Lambeth Conference on the subject, where I had a difficult team of Archbishops, Primates, etc., to drive."

So strong was that spirit of independence to which Archdeacon Bodington has alluded.[1]

Finally, after the Lambeth Conference had broken up, having taken steps which fell far short of the Bishop's hopes, he reviewed at the Nottingham Church Congress [2] the progress made. A "Central Consultative Body" and a "Tribunal of Reference" had been established, useful from the start and the earnest of greater things in the future. For in his eyes this machinery had a truly spiritual value. At the Synod of Clergy which followed the Lambeth Conference of 1897, and accepted its resolutions as binding, the Bishop commended them to the imagination as well as to the reason of his hearers :—

"The Anglican Communion, very largely by the successive action of these Conferences, is growing to be much more than a convenient name. We begin to see what a part it may play, as a whole, in the conversion of the world, in the discipline of the nations, in the reunion of Christendom. Our conceptions of loyalty, of duty, of responsibility, may be wonderfully enlarged by placing it constantly before our mental vision. We feel that it is right to give time and thought to its organisation, that is to its effective embodiment as an instrument of God's glory. Organisation is no mere cold and dry thing; it is the raiment of brilliant needlework in which the Bride of Christ is arrayed."

[1] See p. 253.

[2] September, 1897.

CHAPTER XII

PASTORAL AND LITURGICAL COUNSELS

A SKETCH of the Bishop's relation to the clergy of the diocese must begin with a word about his interest in his Theological College. It was very close. He took his share in lecturing and in many ways tried to make his influence felt. And he was satisfied, on the whole, with the results achieved. In 1897 he wrote to the Vice-Principal [1]:—

"I like much the type of men we send out from the College, and think they are distinguished *generally* by a manly simplicity which is not always a characteristic of Theological College men. But I should like to see a greater *tenderness* about them—in fact, a greater love of souls—and a greater *elevation* of hope, both for this world and the next. I feel my own deficiency in both very constantly." [2]

As an instance of his individual dealing with the

[1] The Rev. H. F. Stewart, now Dean of St. John's College, Cambridge, 30th July, 1897.

[2] It may be worth noting that he did not regard such Colleges as substitutes for Universities. In 1887 he wrote to Canon Sir James Philippe: "Last year a number of former students of our Salisbury Theological College petitioned me for a distinctive hood for non-graduates. . . . I do not myself think that our Diocesan and Missionary Colleges are sufficiently strong and independent bodies, either as regards teaching or examining, to grant quasi-degrees. For a hood which does not imply something of the nature of a degree is a kind of fraud upon the public." This position he maintained to the end; but in his last years he was planning the affiliation of Salisbury College with Durham and Bristol Universities. Since his death it has been accomplished.

students, one example must suffice. One of them, in the last year of the Bishop's life, tells how he was in serious anxiety and needed counsel. Not only did the Bishop grant him a prolonged interview, allowing him to tell the full story and giving him the guidance he required, but he also wrote him several letters of advice. The help so given has been of lasting value, and the words, "Try to cultivate a broad back; I have had to do so," are well remembered.[1] In the Warminster Missionary College the Bishop also took due interest, and was justly proud of the services rendered by its students in many lands. But with a Warden so masterful, and so ready to take responsibility, financially and otherwise, as Sir James Philipps, he could not share so actively in the management.

After his success in gaining recruits for the ministry, and in guiding their lives during their Arts course at Oxford, he naturally had views of the place of the University in the training of candidates. He was not satisfied with the existing want of system. Speaking in 1901 of a state of affairs which is still unchanged,[2] he said :—

"What is really needed is that the moral and spiritual training of candidates should become much better organised than it is at the Universities. No doubt the intellectual training has received a great impetus. The opportunities given of instruction in theology in the last thirty years have been wonderfully increased. But the spiritual training of candidates at the Universities is left too much to chance. There are, of course, excellent professors and friendly tutors ready to receive men who come, but definite provision is not made everywhere to find out whether a man is a candidate for Orders or not, or whether he is likely so to become. There is no general list kept of such persons, and though opportunities

[1] From the Rev. G. R. Channer, student in 1910.
[2] Speech in the Upper House of Convocation, 8th May, 1901.

are freely given, yet it sometimes happens that most likely men fall through, and at the end of their time are able to say, 'Nobody ever spoke to me at all about it.' What I think is wanted, at any rate, is this, that when a man comes to us from the University be should come provided not merely with certificates of having attended a few courses of lectures, but with a single divinity testimonial certifying that he has not only attended a sufficient number of lectures, either professorial or collegiate, to make him sufficiently well equipped intellectually, but that his moral and spiritual conduct has been such as to qualify him to seek Holy Orders. This would, of course, throw a much greater strain upon the professors and tutors, but I believe it is a strain which they now see that they must be called upon reasonably to bear. I think that it would have a good effect, and I do not think that they would at all resent it. This is my small contribution, which has been in my mind, as you may naturally suppose, a great number of years, and I hope that it may reach those whom it is intended to reach. Its two points are—one organisation, one testimonial."

Here he was speaking of the old Universities. He valued also men whose training had been only at a Theological College; in fact, his sole prejudice (and it had its exceptions) was against those who had left a University without a degree. But in his last days he cherished those ambitious ideals which the English Bishops tell us they will try in a few years to bring into action. In his sermon in 1910 to the Cincinnati Convention he sketched a plan which was not altogether consonant with views he has been known to utter elsewhere :—

"In England we feel more and more the need of a combination of University and seminary life in our preparation for the priesthood. We perceive the need of both, and are at least seriously considering how to provide means for it. Some of us think that for ordinary men vocation should be first tested by a preliminary year at a theological college. Then

students should be sent, under supervision, if possible in a college or hostel, to one of the Universities, and there take a degree in Arts, which could probably be accomplished in two years more. Then they should return for a final year of training at the theological college. On the whole, we should prefer to have our seminaries for clergy away from the great centres of population, and, if possible, in touch with our Cathedral life. . . . There can be no doubt that the College of Cuddesdon, to name only one of them, under the influence of so saintly yet thoroughly practical a man as Edward King, late Bishop of Lincoln, has produced a type of men who are the strength of the Church of England—men of whom it may be said, 'In returning and rest shall ye be saved, in quietness and confidence shall be your strength'—men who know why they believe and what they believe—loyal, regular, and obedient, self-denying and happy in their ministry, ready and resourceful, not worn out or crushed by premature practicality, yet ready to express in our city life, as well as in our country towns and villages, the vision which they have seen on the Mount of God."

Of his care for the younger clergy one example must again suffice :—

"I write a few lines on an important subject. I mean your own self-discipline in regard to early rising and punctuality at schools and services. I regret to hear it reported that you have not yet found means to conquer the difficulty about which I spoke to you before your ordination as Deacon, and I think also since on one occasion. I do not know how often you fail in this respect, but I have heard of sufficient cases to make it clear to me that you require a helping hand to point out the real importance of improvement. . . . As you are a candidate for Priest's Orders you will understand that it is a solemn duty for me to warn you in time that I shall require evidence of a real change in your habits before I can admit you to the Priesthood. You will, I know, take this letter just as it is meant by me, that is in all kindness."

Of the Bishop's methods of gaining knowledge of

the clergy and their parishioners, Canon Inman [1] writes that the chief points were :—

"(1) That he originated the idea of a Bishop making a short stay in each of several centres in his diocese, and thence visiting every parish in turn. The Bishop of Worcester does this, but Bishop Wordsworth would have been before him, had not circumstances prevented it. (2) The careful and original thought he gave to any parochial difficulty. (3) The remarkable way in which he could find time and energy to explain to an ordinary priest little difficulties in Holy Scripture or Liturgy. (4) His extraordinary generosity to the clergy. You will see a letter giving me *carte blanche* in Mr. ——'s case. I could tell you several more instances of his unbounded munificence. But they were always, if possible, secret charities. (5) His powers of observation while on his travels. (6) How full of fun he was when he felt he might 'let himself go' safely. Note the pun on my name in one postcard."

Canon Inman says that the letters he received from the Bishop show his "extraordinary versatility of mind and unwearied industry, even when suffering a good deal." Unfortunately, there is space only for one of them, in which he plans an exhaustive inspection of the diocese which was interrupted by Mrs. Wordsworth's death. He writes with regard to one Rural Deanery [2] :—

"I think the best plan would be to come to you for the last fortnight in August. Of course, this is not a very good time for the clergy and the schools, but harvest, I suppose, will be over then this year. I might have the following programme for each day :—

"Quiet morning at Potterne.

"Lunch with some neighbour, clerical or lay, at one.

"Inspect school, church, etc.

"Hold children's catechising at three.

[1] Formerly Vicar of Gillingham, Dorset; afterwards Vicar of Potterne, Wilts., and Rural Dean.

[2] 1st July, 1894.

"Tea for village people at five.

"Evening prayer and sermon at 6 or 6.30.

"Home about eight.

"I think I would draw up a printed list mentioning the subjects of the catechising beforehand, and asking all parents (of the upper and middle classes as well) to send their children to it. Perhaps the subjects of the sermons might also be announced. Could you favour me with some hints, topics, difficulties?"

The Bishop then gives the names of twelve parishes he proposes to visit from Potterne, and continues:—

"I name little places which do not often see a Bishop. Could you get your brethren in whose Deaneries they are to arrange days, etc.? There is a fortnight's work here."

At the end of his life he was contemplating a remarkable modification of this plan. In the visitation that would have been held in 1912, had he lived, he proposed to follow a precedent set by Burnet, his great predecessor. Preaching in the Cathedral on the 5th February, 1911, he suggested this novel procedure:—

"A whole Deanery might be visited in a fortnight. I should propose at these parochial visits to induce each incumbent, even of the smallest parishes, to give an account of his stewardship, his aims and efforts, in the presence of the Bishop or Archdeacon and the Rural Dean, and especially his own parishioners. Such an account, extending for a whole incumbency or for some ten years past, would be a valuable historical document. It would help many an incumbent to think more clearly of his life in relation to his work, and to judge himself more fairly. It would reveal to many of our people what we clergy were aiming at, and why we do this or that or refrain from something else. It would promote sympathy; it would be an opportunity for official encouragement; it would perhaps draw out expressions of dissent or criticism. Yet it might give occasion for explanation and reconciliation, such as are sometimes needed in this world of fallible men."

When the sermon was published in the *Diocesan Gazette* it was read by many of the clergy almost with consternation, and so many protests and appeals were addressed to the Bishop that he let it be known that this stringent investigation should be modified, if not abandoned.

Like all pastorally minded Bishops, he took a peculiar interest in his Confirmations. He followed his father's example in insisting that the rite should accompany morning or evening prayer, and perhaps the length of the combined service, and sometimes the subjects of his address, which was apt to deal with the topics uppermost in his mind, rendered the occasion a little difficult for the young. But usually his words were spirited and likely to catch the attention. The children must have listened eagerly enough during the spring tour of 1904, when he wrote to Bishop Wallis :—

" I have generally begun with a motto I saw in the schoolroom at Sturminster Marshall. ' Our motto this week is *Be Thorough* '—the difference between gilt and gold, veneer and solid wood, etc. On the ' idle word ' I have emphasised ' give account,' and shown the value of merry talk (cf. Grosseteste's *tria necessaria ad vitam, cibus somnus et iocus*) if kept within the four lines (like a game of football) of reverence, purity, truth, and kindness."

Among the sermons that he printed were several, especially those preached on Easter Days in the Cathedral, that had been addressed to the newly confirmed ; they were usually dedicated " To my young fellow-workers in Christ, and especially to those who were confirmed . . ." —the occasions being specified.

In his Easter Day sermon in 1898 he laid stress on Confirmation as peculiarly characteristic of the English Church. The notion was not so common then as it is

to-day; and certainly Bishop Wordsworth has influenced thought by drawing attention to this consideration :—

"It is not a mere accident that the bent of the Greek mind is specially towards making much of Baptism, the bent of the Roman mind towards the theology and ceremonial of the Eucharist, but the bent of the English mind is rather towards dignifying and thinking much of the rite of Confirmation. There can be no doubt that it has grown to be of special interest and importance to ourselves, in the natural course of God's providence, dealing with a practical and personally religious people. Indeed, the feeling in this country dates back several centuries before the Reformation. England is perhaps the one country in Christendom where the laying on of hands has longest existed as the outward sign of Confirmation. What, then, does Confirmation mean to us especially? It is being consecrated and ordained to the lay-priesthood, or rather, to put it still more broadly, to a share in the three Messianic offices of our Saviour, those of Prophet, Priest, and King."

The following letter deals with a practical difficulty. A clergyman had excited ill-will in his parish by refusing to present for Confirmation certain children who would not promise never to go to the chapel :—

"As to the children refused for Confirmation, I am very unwilling to interfere between a clergyman and his flock in such a part of his work. Had you taught the school regularly, as you ought in my opinion to have done, you would have probably had no need to make any conditions with your children. It is, of course, most desirable that Confirmation should be felt as a definite tie to the Church. But I cannot think it a good thing to exact special pledges from children on a matter in which they find their parents so very lax, and where the guilt of schism varies so enormously under different conditions. In some cases to attend a chapel is merely a way of filling up vacant hours which would otherwise probably be ill spent, and is far from being any token of disloyalty to the Church. In others it is distinctly schismatic. What are

the conditions in your case it is difficult for me to determine. . . . I shall probably be having a Confirmation in November somewhere in your neighbourhood. I hope you will kindly give notice of this, and open the door to those whom you before refused to become candidates. Teach them their duty thoroughly, but do not make them take vows other than those imposed by the Church."

As a last illustration of his teaching on such occasions, a letter may be given, written to a niece, who was also his God-daughter, in the time of his sorrow in 1894 :—

"I am sorry that you are not to be confirmed here to-day, but as it cannot be, the next best thing is that it should be at Lincoln. Confirmation day is in some respects the most important day of life. Baptism would be, I suppose, if we could remember it, but Confirmation is the completion of Baptism, and neither can be repeated. You have much to thank God for, my dear Godchild, and I hope that this will be the uppermost thought on Saturday and the keynote of your life. 'Giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ' is a text I often speak about at Confirmations. 'Always,' *i.e.* in all tempers and moods, 'for all things,' sorrows and disappointments as well as joys and pleasures, 'unto the Father' Who has made us for Himself, and sometimes treats us with Fatherly reserve in His Fatherly love, doing with us, and by us, something greater and more strange than we can conceive in our ignorance. 'Through our Lord Jesus Christ,' Who was perfected by suffering, and through Whom we are, after Confirmation, specially to offer the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving in Holy Communion. If ever we find it hard to give God thanks, let us say 'through our Lord Jesus Christ.'

"You know how much we are suffering this Holy Week through your dear aunt's illness. It fits in very beautifully with the thoughts of our Lord's Passion. She is so brave and bright and yet so sad to think of leaving us, as we fear it is God's will that she must do. Some day you will know, perhaps, what the mixture of joy and sorrow is that we feel. Of joy, because she is able 'through Jesus Christ' to bear her sufferings

as the work He gives her to do for Him, and to keep her faith without wavering. Of sorrow, because we know that no person can take the place of another, and that when she is gone we shall feel the want of her presence all the rest of our lives.

"I must not write more as I have to go to the Cathedral in a few minutes. We shall think of you on Saturday, and pray that God Who has begun a good work in you may confirm it even unto the end at the day of the Lord Jesus. Let me know if there is any book you would like to have."

It is perhaps worth nothing in regard to Confirmation, that he gave no sanction to the custom of taking a new Christian name on that occasion; yet once, in the case of a girl whom her parents had burdened with the name of "Tulip," he relaxed his rule.

Of the Bishop's guidance to the clergy in regard to marriage problems a few examples shall here be given. He writes to one [1]:—

"I hope I feel very deeply with the parochial clergy; but I have to do a duty to all whom this matter concerns, and especially to try and think clearly. Marriage is only so far in the hands of the Church as it exists among Christians under the law of Christ. What then, I ask, is the law of Christ? He seems to me clearly to accept thus much of the law of nature, that a man cannot be expected to cohabit with a woman who is unfaithful and who brings him illegitimate children. He must, for the sake of his other children and of his home, put her away either temporarily or permanently; to live in such confusion is impossible. The separation *a mensa et thoro* is not carrying out the object of marriage; it is, in fact, alien to it; it exposes a woman to nearly all the dangers of a *feme sole*. It is an ecclesiastical invention based on a theory of marriage which has (as far as I can see) no sufficient warrant in Scripture or reason, viz. that it is *absolutely* indissoluble; and the temptation thereby imposed on both parties is also a very serious element in the case.

"Is it not wiser for the Church to say in such a case, 'I

[1] Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, 12th September, 1896.

will, however unwilling to advise such a course, draw a real distinction between the parties, and admit one to the blessing of a second marriage, without any special facility such as a licence gives—if he claims it as a member of the Church'?"

And to the same [1]:—

"My point is: Our Lord's answer (recorded by St. Matthew) was given on the basis of the Mosaic law, which expressly provided that a woman divorced by her husband might remarry. Her remarriage (though it may not be sanctioned by the Church) is not a 'perpetual adultery.' An act of adultery is (perhaps) her first sin; but it is not suitable to the 'gentleness of Christ' to invent new terms of reprobation to describe a state which she has entered into with His *implied* permission. Our Lord knew that women need home life, bad women as much as good.

"I do not think the possible omission of the clause about marrying her that is put away a matter of great importance. The point is that in Matt. xix. 9, as far as I know, all MSS. read *καὶ γαμήσῃ ἄλλην*. This is really what is questioned now among us. It lies in a nutshell, so to speak. Such remarriage is not adultery; is it so unworthy of a Christian man as to be visited with a penalty, and possibly with excommunication? I only raised the other point because I thought that you were not quite giving sufficient credit to a man who might say, 'For my erring wife's own sake I will dissolve the marriage between us, because things have gone too far for a return to be possible, and I wish her to have a settled domicile.'

"As to the poor. My own experience is naturally mostly at second-hand, but it is not altogether small. When they wish for divorce they desert one another and take care to be ignorant of each other's whereabouts till three years have elapsed, which is now, I think, the time fixed by the judges after which an action for bigamy will not lie. This the poor are generally well aware of: only they think that it is an actual law instead of being judge-made law, as it is in regard to the time. I am writing simply, of course, from memory."

[1] 18th October, 1896.

Similarly, to the Bishop of Wellington, New Zealand [1]:—

"I imagine that those who hold πορνεία to be 'unchastity before marriage' would (though I think our law would not) allow a man to divorce his wife for this cause. You know, however, that this view was put out first by Döllinger in an appendix to his *First Age of the Church*, to which J. Conington well replied in the *Contemporary Review* of May, 1869. Döllinger is arguing against a view that no one of us, I think, would hold, viz. that an act of adultery *ipso facto* dissolves marriage—a German scholar's view, not an English one. We should hold that the marriage was only dissolved on application of the injured party, through a court of law; much in the same way that Moses required a carefully prepared 'writing of divorcement,' and did not permit marriage to be dissolved in a fit of temper.

"I have practically no doubt that our Lord meant by πορνεία grave unchastity after marriage, whether habitual or a single flagrant act, and that He gave a husband the power to set aside a wife who was guilty of it and to marry another. Πορνεία is the generic term, and includes μοιχεία, as is seen by the *Epistle of Clement to James* (which stands at the head of the Clementine *Homilies*), § 8.

"Our Lord was speaking to the Jews of his own generation, and therefore to those who in a bill of divorcement gave power to the divorced woman to marry another. Buxtorf, *Syn. Judaica*, p. 644, and Surenhusius, *Mischna*, III., pp. 324, 325, give the form. I quote from the latter. It includes the phrase '*Quae fuisti antehac uxor mea, nunc dimitto, derelinquo, repudio ut in tua potestate tuique iuris sis deinceps et nubas cuicumque volueris viro.*' There can be no doubt that the man intended to use the power of remarriage himself.

"On the other hand, I think it is certain that a man has rights in this matter which a woman has not in the same degree. I should hesitate to talk of this in public, but it is clear to me (1) that to a man is committed the duty of handing on the family inheritance, whether it be moral or material, much more than to a woman. It may come to be a duty

[1] 12th July, 1898.

to a man to get rid of a woman who would bring him an illegitimate offspring, and under such circumstances it may be no wrong in him to remarry; (2) A man has much greater difficulty in making a home than a woman. A woman can always get other women to live with; not so a man, and women are necessary to the making of a home; (3) a man's temptations are much greater than a woman's. For these three reasons, I do not think it follows from our Lord's permission that a woman has the same right, as a matter of Christian conscience, to put away her husband that an injured man has to put away his guilty wife. She has it under the English law.

"Looking to the practical aspect of things, I am in favour of preventing remarriage *in church* of either party: (1) because of the character of the marriage service; (2) because of the very frequent instances of collusion—and, where collusion does not take place, of something wrong in the attitude and behaviour of the so-called innocent parties. I have therefore, as far as I can, forbidden the issue of licences to either party, and if a clergyman comes to me and asks what he is to do as to marriage by banns I should say, Dissuade the innocent parties from seeking marriage in church. If they insist and threaten legal proceedings, you must use your discretion. You are not bound to go to prison, but short of that you had better avoid having anything to do with it. This *practically* is our advice in Convocation, as you will see. On the other hand, we hold fast to the Lambeth Conference of 1888, as to not ordering clergy to refuse communion to 'innocent' parties remarried, if they are not otherwise under suspicion.

"As to *penitence*. If a man or woman commits adultery and does not marry the associate in guilt but remains for a time penitent, I think it would be generally agreed that he or she may be received to communion after a period of, say, five years. But if the two guilty parties marry they cannot be admitted to communion as long as they live together, unless the former husband and wife are dead—and then only on proof of penitence. I have, alas! a case of this kind now, in which I have directed (of course) the refusal of communion."

Concerning the marriage of the unbaptised he wrote [1]:—

"It is, I think, clear that if both parties are unbaptised the clergy cannot be called upon to marry them any more than they can be called upon to bury them. Further, the P.B. up to the last revision provided that the parties must receive Holy Communion. In 1662 this rule was altered into the present final rubric which presupposes that they are not only baptised but confirmed. . . . The difficulty begins when one of the parties is baptised and confirmed, and the other is not. As a matter of law, the question was apparently raised, at least to some extent, in the case *Reg. versus Moorhouse-James*, quoted in Hammick's *Marriage Law*, p. 212, in which a clergyman refused a man because he had not been confirmed, nor was willing to be confirmed. The judges before whom he was indicted decided in his favour on a somewhat technical ground, adding that even if his refusal to marry on the ground of absence of confirmation was wrong it was only an ecclesiastical offence, and ought not, I presume, to have been tried at the assizes.

"On the whole, I think that a clergyman who refused to marry, when either party was unbaptised, would be sustained in his refusal, because there is another mode of legal marriage freely open to such persons. Nor do I think that he could be forced to lend his church for such a marriage. . . . I should tell them that their marriage at the Registry was perfectly lawful, and that I should admit the Church member to Communion and the other to Baptism and Confirmation, as soon as he or she desired it, and would then give them both a blessing in church.

"The matter is, however, one for serious consideration, and I should desire to take counsel with theologians. The early Church—which had no fixed marriage service—did not consider marriages between Christians and heathens unlawful, though it held them inexpedient. Our unbaptised persons are not generally heathens, but Baptists."

In regard to Nonconformists it may here be said that

[1] To the Rev. Chr. Wordsworth, 4th November, 1899.

the Bishop had a high sense of the value of organised religion and of the value of loyal adherence to a definite society. The date and place shall not be disclosed, but the following letter was provoked by the action of a politician, not a Nonconformist, who took conspicuous part in a Nonconformist service, and explained his action, after remonstrance from the Bishop, in singularly ill-chosen terms :—

"As I look with equal tolerance upon all religions which have the Bible as the foundation of their belief, I regret that I am unable to share your view of what I have done."

The Bishop replied :—

"It may save some trouble if I make it clear that my only object in writing was (1) to help you personally at a time when the line of duty may be somewhat obscured by the excitement of a contest and the pursuit of an immediate end, and (2) to do what I can, through you, to keep up the standard of religious life in ——, of which you are now the representative. I should say, then, that this is not a question of 'tolerance,' of which I may claim to have a considerable share, but of the claims of religious profession upon the conscience and upon the conduct of life. Religion is the service of God, and, as such, necessarily involves a certain amount of discipline and of submission to order, not of one's own making. In order to get the full benefit of religion, and to grow strong in character, we have to belong to a Church. The unattached Christian, who is always patching at his religion, ends generally by having very little. He has no religious habits to speak of; he has no companions, between whom and himself mutual confidence exists; there is no one whose advice or reproof he acknowledges as having a claim upon him. If a man is not a Churchman, let him at any rate be an attached Presbyterian, Wesleyan, or Congregationalist. In that way he may realise something of what our Lord means by 'the Kingdom of God.' That kingdom, when it comes, will no doubt be broader and more comprehensive than any present Christian communion, but it will be at any rate

a state and place of discipline. The further point, of the occasion chosen by yourself for this display of 'tolerance,' is one on which I will say no more than that I hope you will see on reflection that it has justly given pain to those who, like myself, have a high personal esteem for you."

Similarly, he advised a lady of fortune who was subsidising an undenominational mission in a market-town of his diocese to transfer her support to the Wesleyans, since she was not content to confine her gifts to the Church. Among the Wesleyans she would find a continuous life and a corporate conscience that were lacking in undenominational efforts.

In regard to burial, the troubles of the diocese of Salisbury and their solution were in no wise peculiar to it. But the Bishop, following his father, used all his influence against the practice of cremation, and (once, at any rate) used his knowledge to discourage it. Application was made to the Chancellor of the diocese for a faculty for the fixing of an urn containing the ashes of a deceased person within a church in view of the congregation. The Chancellor consulted the Bishop, and received his reply [1]:—

"Christian custom understood the placing of remains above the floor of the Church as an act of canonisation. It was, in fact, the method adopted for so doing up to the ninth century; see Mazochius, *Kalendarium*, pp. xxx. f. (Naples, 1744), on the words *levare*, *levatio*. We do not honour our dead generals above other Christians."

The consecration of churches, its history and the mode of its performance, were topics in which he was deeply learned, and in which his practice has influenced general usage. His attention was called to it by the ceremony which he had to perform on Michaelmas Day,

[1] To Chancellor Bourne, 13th November, 1907.

1886, at the consecration of the stately chapel of Marlborough College. He drew up the service, and from that time onwards devoted himself to the perfecting of an order for the purpose, of which many successive editions have been published. It has been adopted, with or without change, in many other dioceses. But his great opportunity came when, at Archbishop Temple's request, he consecrated the Collegiate Church of St. George at Jerusalem. That ceremony, as has already been narrated, was on the 18th October, 1898, and shortly after his return to England the Bishop published a learned discourse on the general subject.[1] Among the notes for this work which he jotted down during his journey occurs the following passage, of which he made only a partial use in the published text :—

"The further ancient ceremonies both in the East and West have to do with a temporary 'craze,' we may almost call it ;—the desire to treat every church as the burial place of a martyr ; a desire which grew up in the fourth century, when this kind of hero worship was prevalent in the now dominant Church, which contrasted its peaceful comfort with the struggles of a generation not very far distant, and when the intrusion of a number of half-converts from heathenism made it natural to fill the space between God and the soul with a number of intermediate beings, like the lower gods of polytheism. Any one looking at the old service must see that this element has a very unfortunate prominence and leads to a continuance of superstition, while it is demonstrably a mere accretion. We have, of course, entirely to break with this materialist view of the kingdom of God, which attaches virtue to fragments of bone or dress as if they brought us nearer to holy company. This is one reason for preferring a wooden and movable holy table to one made of stone ;—that there may be no idea of a

[1] "On the Rite of Consecration of Churches, especially in the Church of England, together with the Form of Prayer and Order of Ceremonies in use in the Diocese of Salisbury." London. S.P.C.K., for the Church Historical Society, 1899.

burial place in the altar. In place of it we have to bring out, what is very suitable to the Anglican conception of priesthood, the many ways in which the Church is to bring human life nearer to God. It was the thought of this that led many of our medieval teachers to count consecration of churches not only as a sacrament, but as one of the greatest of sacraments, because by it provision was made for the due celebration of all other sacraments; and I confess that there seems to me great truth in this view. If we do not limit the term to sacred and significant rites actually ordained by Christ Himself, we shall think very highly of it among the number. For nothing can be clearer than that He thought highly of the Temple and its consecration, since at the beginning and the end of His ministry He cleansed it, and since He made it so constantly the centre of His teaching."

In connection with the consecration of St. George's, I find one of the very few notices of an interest in music in the Bishop's later life. Archdeacon Carpenter, who was Precentor of Salisbury Cathedral in Bishop Wordsworth's day, tells how the Bishop, when he was preparing to start for the consecration of St. George's, one day came to see him at his house in the Close, and walking to the pianoforte surprised him (who had an impression that the Bishop did not know a note of music) by saying, "Carpenter, I am wanting to have a litany for the occasion. Can you make me something out of this?" And suiting the action to the word he struck half a dozen notes. The Precentor says that they perfectly conveyed the motive, for which he was able to supply the harmonies. The litany was played and sung at the dedication of the church, to the gratification of a musical critic, who, seeing the Precentor afterwards, asked him where that litany could be found, and who was its composer. The Archdeacon adds that though the Bishop's intoning of the litany at the assembling of Convocation, which he made a point of undertaking as Precentor in the Provincial College of

Bishops, was not such as would have been approved by St. Osmund or other of his musical predecessors in the see of Sarum,[1] yet his criticisms and remarks on the Cathedral service were always just and quite correct.

From 1898 onwards the Bishop came to be more and more interested in liturgies, and acquired in time a profound knowledge of the technicalities of that department of antiquarianism, perhaps with a certain loss as well as gain. In 1899 he published his annotated translation of *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer-book*, a collection used by an Egyptian Bishop of the fourth century which had just been discovered and printed by a German scholar. In the same year Mr. Horner published the Coptic rite for the consecration of churches from a manuscript given to the Bishop by the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria. This edition was made at the prompting of Bishop Wordsworth. His studies came to have a practical effect upon public worship in three respects. The first was in regard to the Lord's Prayer, where exegetical considerations led him to insist upon the reading, "Thy will be done, In earth as it is in heaven." He held that the latter clause qualified its three predecessors, and that it was an error to connect it only with "Thy will be done." This interpretation of the prayer is being widely adopted. Next, his division of the *Te Deum* into three paragraphs is coming to receive official recognition. He was entrusted with the article on that anthem in Dr. Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, which was published at the end of 1891, and while working for it he discovered the structure of the poem. He saw in it not only three sections, but a double *Gloria*, and he insisted, and illustrated by his own practice, that both (vv. 5, 6, and 11–13) should be said or sung, not antiphonally, but by the full choir or

[1] But he usually had a minor canon kneeling with him at the desk to support his voice.

congregation. This was from 1899 onwards. He had his difficulties, for musicians, he said, were stubborn, but in 1900 he was able, in advising the clergy to accept the new arrangement, to tell them that it was in use at Early Mattins in the Cathedral.[1] In 1902 the division into paragraphs was introduced into the new Accession Service for King Edward VII. and is retained in that for King George V.

A more laborious task than that in regard to the *Te Deum* was the revision of the translation of the *Quicunque vult*. The subject came before a Committee of the Lambeth Conference of 1908, to which the Bishop addressed a memorandum :—

"I am one of those who not only desire that the *Quicunque vult* should be retained in the Prayer-book, but that it should continue to be recited (with some emendations) in the services of the Church. As to the days on which it is recited, I am in favour: (1) of reducing their number; (2) of changing their date, so as to avoid the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. I believe that nearly all would agree as to this amount of relief to conscientious objectors.

"I feel, however, that the best solution of the difficulties felt in regard to the *Quicunque vult* is to be found in the braver course of amending the English version of the monitory clauses in a manner which I shall presently explain, and I should desire that this might be done even if the Creed were retained, as in the Irish Prayer-book, without any rubric directing its recitation. It would be much more useful, as a document for instruction of catechumens and others, if the monitory clauses were paraphrased so as to bring out their fundamental and abiding meaning, that, namely, in which we ourselves now accept them, and in which we wish our flocks to accept them.

"If, indeed, the Committee only wished to give relief in the recitation, and shrunk from suggesting a change which would require alteration in the text of the Prayer-book by Act of Parliament, I would remind it that such relief might

[1] *Diocesan Gazette*, May, 1900.

be secured by a very slight alteration in the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act of 1872, which could, I imagine, easily be passed through Parliament. All that would be needed is an extension of leave to use the Shortened Order for Morning Prayer (in which the *Quicunque vult* does not occur) to Sundays and the four holy-days hitherto excepted, and to Cathedrals as well as to parish churches. . . . I do not think there would be anything undignified in such a course. The introducer of the Bill might easily explain the purport of it, which would be received with sympathy in such an assembly as our Parliament. . . .

"But what I should now prefer is the braver course of amending the text of the monitory clauses in the way of paraphrase of the English Version. The proposed emendations are based on the principle that paraphrase sometimes better expresses the meaning of a document than a word-for-word rendering. They are intended: (1) to declare these valuable warnings in a way that would draw and guide, rather than seem to force the conscience; (2) to render the Latin in some places more exactly; (3) to keep more closely to the language of Holy Scripture, especially in verse 41."

The Bishop then gave specimens of emendation, some of which appear in the revised version that was subsequently published, and proceeded:—

"I am aware that this proposal will be criticised on the ground that we have no right to touch an ancient document. To this I would reply:—

"(1) That this document has no such unquestioned authority as the 'Apostles'' or 'Nicene' Creed.

"(2) That I do not propose to touch its substance, but to restate the meaning of its outer setting in a way which would certainly conduce to the acceptance of both setting and substance in many quarters where they are now suspected, and that without diminishing the value of either.

"(3) That our Communion has power to do this if it made clear by a note that the verses in question are a paraphrase, not a verbatim rendering.

"(4) That a somewhat similar change was made when a

Creed was introduced into the Liturgy. The Creed chosen was either an amended form of the Nicene Creed or a local Creed amended by use of the Nicene Creed—it is not quite certain which. But it is certain that the anathemas of the Nicene Creed were not considered a necessary part of the Liturgical Creed.

"(5) That a remarkable change has been made in the text of the *Te Deum*. It seems to me fairly certain that the original of verse 16 was that preserved in all the Irish MS. texts, now a considerable number: 'Tu ad liberandum *mundum suscepisti* hominem: non horruisti virginis uterum.' This was changed, apparently to avoid the suspicion of Nestorianism, into 'Tu ad liberandum *suscepturus* hominem,' etc.—which we render, though it is contrary to Latin idiom, 'When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man,' etc.

"For these and other reasons I trust that the Committee will give favourable consideration to these proposals."

The Committee reported to the Conference, which in its 29th resolution requested the Archbishop of Canterbury to appoint a Committee "to make a new translation of the *Quicunque vult* based upon the best Latin text." The Archbishop appointed six scholars, with the Bishop of Salisbury as their chairman,[1] to perform the task. It was, perhaps, discouraging to be told by the Bishop, on a higher authority than his own, that the chief result of the work would be to dispel the illusion, discreditable to the learning of the English clergy, that a fresh translation could render the Creed more acceptable to its critics. But the task was accomplished with scrupulous care for accuracy, textual, philological, theological, and literary; it was a privilege to be present at discussions conducted on so high a level of scholarship.

[1] H. B. Swete, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge; A. J. Mason, D.D., Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge; A. F. Kirkpatrick, D.D., Dean of Ely; W. Lock, D.D., Warden of Keble College, and Dean Ireland's Professor of Exegesis, Oxford; C. H. Turner, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; E. W. Watson.

The new translation—it was a translation, and not, as the Bishop had proposed, a paraphrase—was published by the S.P.C.K. in the course of 1889, and if it has received no official sanction, it has at least put to silence the thoughtless clamour to which, in some measure, it owed its origin.

The Bishop's general view of Prayer-book revision at the end of his life was given to a friend [1] :—

"I don't think you need be worried about revision. I think whatever changes are made will be for the better, but they will, I think, certainly be few. I don't suppose we shall get much further with the Ornaments Rubric. It *may* be that some compromise will be arrived at, tolerating existing varieties, and requiring certain conditions and circumstances for further changes. But I do not see how that can be expressed in a rubric. Some general resolution of the Convocations which would guide Bishops in administering the practice of the Church might suffice, if it were fairly unanimous."

In regard to public worship, the Bishop never gave clearer expression to his views than in his New Year's Letter to the diocese for 1899, written just after the subject had become in his eyes a pressing one. He is speaking of the importance of simplicity, with reference to such giving as he deemed "a form of religious selfishness"—

"giving to what suits our own convenience or promotes our own ends, and especially indulging our taste or our pride—local or artistic—and neglecting more pressing needs. We are all familiar with the arguments drawn from the magnificence of the Temple and the splendid waste of the ointment of spikenard. But each was expended on a unique centre—on the Temple which was a type of the one Lord and on the Lord Himself. Each diocese may claim to have a magnificent Cathedral, and no one would grudge expense on the ancient shrines of Sherborne, Wimborne, Milton Abbey, Edingdon,

[1] The Rev. G. F. Hooper, 2nd April, 1911.

and Malmesbury. But I do not see why every parish church should be magnificent. The synagogues in which our Lord preached so much were, I suppose, humble buildings. If we wish to spend lavishly on Him we must spend it in the education of children, the care for the sick, poor, and aged, in improving our workhouse chapels, our hospitals, and our prisons, and in a wise generosity to foreign missions and missionaries. Our Lord gives us a special Beatitude for these latter days: 'Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed.' But He has told us also how to *see* Him even in absence. We do not perceive His presence or see His face so clearly in organs, painted windows, bells, reredoses, etc., etc., as in the children whom we train to be good and strong or save from misery and vice, the poor, the sick, the unhappy, the ignorant, the heathen from darkness to light—whose very faces may become like those of angels instead of blank and hopeless."

Similarly, a little earlier, in a published letter to the laity [1]:—

"It is the duty of Englishmen to respect the best characteristics of Englishmen, such as unpretentious simplicity, self-reliance coupled with respect for order, and reserve in expressing emotion. It is no small fault either in clergy or laity to irritate such feelings by artificiality, exaggeration, or affectation, by sudden or obtrusive gestures and postures, by seeming in any way to despise or make light of the Prayer-book. Respect one another and respect the Prayer-book, both in what it teaches directly and in its reserved and sober spirit."

And again [2]:—

"The principle of continuity, of keeping to what we have received from our forefathers, and so going on from strength to strength, is of essential value in Christian worship; and nothing of mere beauty, or dramatic effectiveness, or impressiveness of symbolic teaching, will make up for the breach of

[1] 4th July, 1898.
[2] Sermon in the Cathedral, Easter Day, 1898.

unity in a congregation caused by the intrusion of personal or popular taste and sentiment into the region of devotion."

The decision of the two Archbishops in 1899 on Incense and Processional Lights led the Bishop to issue a letter to clergy and laity in which he pleaded for diocesan unity and said that he expected universal obedience. Two of the clergy affected had loyally accepted the decision—

"perhaps there may be two or three others to whom it definitely applies. But if there are more, let them not hesitate, but remember the adage, *Bis dat qui cito dat.* Acceptance of an unwelcome position gains greatly in force by being prompt."

The result was less than he had hoped, but as the weary controversy went on the loyalty of the diocese became ever heartier, and at the Synod in the spring of 1903 an impressive vote of confidence in the Bishop's treatment of ritual troubles was passed. Meanwhile, the horizon was darkened by the storm which led to the appointment of the Ecclesiastical Discipline Commission of 1904, in the proceedings of which exaggerated accounts were given of services in the Salisbury diocese and false assertions made that the Bishop's sanction was extended to them. He was concerned only for the good fame of his diocese; for attacks on himself he had no need to care. He was emphatic in his defence of the loyalty of the clergy and vigorous in his effort to remove causes of offence. In a public letter to the clergy and churchwardens of the 28th November in that year he went over the ground, giving not only directions but reasons; and in 1904 he also published a pamphlet in which he argued learnedly against the title "Queen of Heaven" for the Blessed Virgin, showing *inter alia* that it is false

heraldry and contrary to medieval precedent for her to be depicted with a crown in the arms of his see.

After long consideration he issued directions to the clergy on the conduct of public worship at the beginning of 1905, and at the same time asked them for an assurance that they would obey him :—

"With regard to the subject as a whole, I should wish you to understand my reasons for issuing these directions and for asking for this assurance. I desire to show in the first place that the clergy of this diocese, some of whom have been rather roughly attacked, are a loyal and united body, and worthy of public confidence. If this confidence is not earned by voluntary submission to episcopal authority in this and other dioceses, two things will almost certainly follow: (1) A violent agitation will be stirred up in Parliament, wasting an immense amount of time and temper and strength, and ending, it may be, in violent legislation ; (2) The position of the clergy as teachers of the young, especially in the day schools, will be most injuriously affected. It is notorious that the introduction of the Kenyon-Slaney clause into the Education Act of 1902 was due to the conduct of a few clergy who had misused their opportunities as teachers ; and there are evident signs of the likelihood of an agitation, similar to that which you will then remember, being revived on account of two of the points touched in my directions, viz. undue pressure put upon children to 'attend' the communion service as non-communicants, and the distribution among them, in church or in school or elsewhere, of manuals of a particular type and colour. I plead with those who may have adopted practices of this sort, I doubt not in good faith, but without the experience which we now have, to change their methods for the sake of the general good of Christ's Church and people in this land.

"My second reason for issuing these directions is the wish to make the services, in our different parishes, so homogeneous and harmonious as to render it easy for worshippers to pass from one church to another without discomfort and without excuse for absenting themselves from the house of God. To hear it said : 'I went into such and such a church and I

hardly knew where I was or what was going on' is a very painful experience. Yet it is, I am sorry to say, not an unknown one.

"My third reason is the wish to establish such a simple, beautiful, reverent, English type of worship as may conciliate general love to the Church, and by the force of good example draw into line those who are negligent or slovenly in ritual, and may tend to take away the excuse that is now made by some of them: 'I do not wish to be like so-and-so. He is clearly going too fast and too far, and I should be sorry to be in any way identified with him.' I wish, therefore, by no means to justify bareness or coldness or carelessness, but that all things should be done 'decently and in order' by all our clergy.

"Will you, then, dear Brother in Christ, aid me in this effort? Surely it is worthy of a Christian Bishop and of Christian Priests. I know that to do so may involve you in some sacrifice, perhaps in regard to practices to which you attach importance. I know, too, that it may require you to teach a certain amount of self-denial to some of your people. But what is good for you is good also for them; and your teaching will, I trust, have already prepared them to defer, on proper occasions, to a living authority superior to your own."

As to his own practice, the Bishop was deeply impressed with the duty of his order to preserve the equilibrium of the Church, and to set the example of a worship that should be generally acceptable. For a Bishop to be a partisan in practice was in his eyes equivalent to his being an adherent of one of those private Church Societies which he so heartily distrusted. Some notes which the Bishop made in 1891 concerning his own usages may, perhaps, be of more interest in the future than they are to-day. They may be prefaced by words of his own, which show his temper in regard to these matters:—

"I find that A. has introduced vestments into B. chapel without my knowledge, which rather vexes me. I so hate to

have divisions between one church and another, and the love of vestments makes people often discontented when they can't have them. Personally, I don't care one way or the other whether people use them, but I do care for unity."

His description of his own practice is :—

"As I have drifted into the subject of ritual, I may as well say that my own practice has been as far as possible everywhere uniform. My father had been accustomed for a number of years always to wear the cope in celebrating at the Cathedral (though never, as far as I remember, elsewhere). I should naturally have followed his example, and for this purpose recovered the white cope, of easy folding stuff, which he much preferred for convenience to the stiff red velvet one with its more elaborate ornaments. I recovered it, I say, from Bishop King, of Lincoln, to whom I had given it when he was made Bishop. A Mrs. Walrond also gave me a beautiful white satin or brocaded silk one on the occasion of my first confirmation at Parkstone in 1885. But I have never worn either publicly, finding from Archdeacon Sanctuary that it would create a sort of schism in the Chapter, and this I found would be the case when I put the matter, as one of obedience to a definite rule of the Canons of 1603, to the Dean and Chapter at the Cathedral visitation in 1888. I asked them to join me, and found that some at least would not do so, and so I thought it better to drop it. In 1893 I began to wear a white poplin chimere given me by Mrs. Stilwell, which reached me at Bromham and was first worn at the confirmation there. On the other hand, I have generally taken the light pastoral staff, my father's ebony and silver gilt one given him by the Rev. Fred. Sutton, of Brent Broughton, with ivory figures in its head of our Lord giving the charge to St. Peter,[1] to all public gatherings outside the Cathedral, especially to Confirmations and Consecrations of churches and churchyards, church openings, and the like. In the Cathedral I of course use a pastoral staff at Ordinations and on days when there is a processional hymn, using in this case the large silver rococo one given by Mr. Hubbard to the Bishops from the treasures

[1] This staff was buried with the Bishop.

collected by William Sewell at Radley.[1] It is, I believe, of Flemish or Spanish workmanship. The oak and brass staff by my seat in chapel here is an ornament from the chapel at Riseholme, which always stood by my father's seat there after he did up the room. The only person who has asked me not to take the pastoral staff is Mr. X. of Y. These things are trifles, but such as interest us when we come across them in the history of the past. I have always worn a silver cross, generally one given me by the four Johnsons[2] (Ebbie, Amy, Carry, and Janet), with the two mottoes of my father and Bishop Smyth, founder of B.N.C.[3] On Saints Days in the Cathedral I generally wear the scarlet Convocation robes, and also in the octaves of the great festivals and on the choral festivals, on Synod days, Chapter Meetings, etc.

"I have always taken the '*Eastward position*' since I became Canon of Rochester in 1883, standing at the north part of the west side at the beginning of the office and at the centre for the Creed and onwards. I have only once heard this objected to, and that not directly to myself. . . . Up till the Archbishop's judgment, 21st November, 1890, I accepted the *mixed chalice*, just as it was (or was not) brought to me, or rather I should say up till the beginning of the case of Read *versus* the Bishop of Lincoln in his court, which was a good deal earlier. During the trial I took care not to prejudice the matter by my own action, and since the judgment I have directed the cup to be mixed beforehand. But I do not see my way yet to forbid what is a reasonable method of unceremonial mixture, much more convenient than previous mixture, viz. the putting water in the cup beforehand.

"I have not had much occasion to discuss the question of *Lights*, but I remember giving directions to Mr. B. to use them only at the early celebration at A. and that in the darker months of the year; from Michaelmas, it may have been, till

[1] On the 27th October, 1909, Canon Charles Myers presented another, and a very beautiful, staff to be used by the Bishops of Salisbury within the Cathedral.

[2] Daughters of Manuel Johnson, the Radcliffe observer and friend of Newman.

[3] *Veritas in caritate* and *Delectare in Domino.*

Easter. This was, of course, long before the Archbishop's judgment in Read *v.* the Bishop of Lincoln.

* * * * *

"29th July, 1893. Since this was written the Archbishop's judgment has been confirmed in all points, absolutely in four out of five; but as regards the Lights on a ground differing somewhat from that which he laid down. My own opinion on these points will be found in the Preface to the second edition of my *Holy Communion*, Four Visitation Addresses, 1892."

In that work, which reached its third edition in 1910, will be found the best exposition of the Bishop's views on the Eucharist. But a little may be added: "The value of the Sacraments to those who use them depends on the reality of the prayers. Sacraments are prayers with illustrations." So he said in a sermon.[1] And writing to a friend[2]:—

"The more I read about the Eucharistic controversy the less I wish to discuss it, except to bid people keep silence. It seems to me that the terms 'virtue and efficacy,' 'effect and power,' mean very much what transubstantiation, rightly interpreted and freed from its scholastic dress, was intended to mean, viz. that the identity of the Body and Blood of Christ with the elements was mysterious and spiritual. But most people take these words by the wrong handle, *i.e.* the one which turns them into a whip or goad for an adversary. Of course the practical identification for the purposes of extra-sacramental adoration is what prudent people are afraid of.

"There is also a failure to recollect the *doubleness* of the mystery—that it consists of the Blood of Christ as well as the Body. This Bishop Westcott has brought out lately in conversation. Our Lord would not, I think, have divided the mystery if He had intended the 'Body' alone to represent His Body, Blood, Soul, and Divinity as Romanists say. The division into Body and Blood implies a certain restriction of

[1] *Diocesan Gazette*, 1903, p. 75.

[2] The Rev. G. F. Hooper, 22nd August, 1900.

the identification of either part with *Himself.* That is to say, we must consider each part as having a special meaning, as, *e.g.*, I have tried to do in the Sarum *Guild Manual.*

"My motto is, in the words of Bishop Beveridge, 'How can I see my Saviour Christ coming to me and offering me His Body and His Blood, and not fall down and worship Him?' Christ in the Sacrament is greater than either part of the Sacrament, and is the true object of worship, just as the Priest is greater than the victim, the Master of the House than the feast He makes."

And again [1]:—

"Forbes and Cheyne taught that 'supreme adoration was to be paid to Christ's presence in the gifts'; if not, you were a Nestorian or a rationalist or something very bad; and that the Sacrifice of the Eucharist is identical with the Sacrifice of the Cross. My solution is that: (1) Eucharistic adoration is mainly and properly due to the Father *through* the Son; and (2) that to give supreme adoration in such a service to one Person of the Trinity, at a special moment, is distracting to proportion of faith, and in any case it is to Christ as Priest rather than as Victim that we ought to look; to Him as Giver more than to the gifts. (3) As to the Sacrifice it is a repetition of that of the Upper Room, not of that of the Cross."

It was inevitable that the Bishop should be involved in controversy on Eucharistic subjects with some of the clergy. Concerning one such debate he writes [2]:—

"I have had a good deal of correspondence with X. on Eucharistic doctrine. My last position to him was as follows: Is it not sounder to interpret *together* our Lord's two great sayings, 'Where two or three . . . there am I in the midst of them,' and 'Take, eat, this is My body which is for you,' rather than so to press the second as to make the presence of which it speaks practically imply a *previous absence* of our

[1] To Bishop Wallis, of Wellington, N.Z., 15th July, 1896.
[2] To his brother, 3rd October, 1898.

Lord, even though the condition laid down in the first saying has been for a long time abundantly fulfilled? And again, if you come to the comparison of the two, 'There am I' is a stronger promise as to the presence of our Lord's 'soul and divinity' than 'This is My body.'

"I cannot see how any reasonable man can allow such language to be taught to children or adults in Eucharistic manuals as 'Jesus is coming' just before the consecration, and then 'Jesus is come' at or after it, in cases where neither Body nor Blood is sacramentally to be used by them, but only adored *ab extra*. Why should our Lord say 'which is for you' or speak of the 'covenant,' if the Sacrament was to be treated as a mode of His presence in itself, outside its use? Christ *comes*, indeed, in a special sense to communicants, but not, I think, to onlookers any more than to others in public worship.

"I am very much afraid that with his undoubted power X. is likely to be a dangerous influence (unless restrained by having such considerations as these brought home to him) on some minds. Clearness and precision are very attractive, but in mysteries of this kind certainly lead to false, because incomplete, conclusions. I know he feels something of the truth of what I say, but I do not think he has grasped it thoroughly, or is willing to sacrifice the convenience of Roman formulae for the purpose of teaching. I hope I am mistaken."

An example or two of his treatment of points in connection with the Eucharist may be given. The first shall be in regard to what he called the "pious and reverent custom" of fasting communion, which was being treated as obligatory by some of the clergy. A certain grim humour appears in his treatment.[1]

"The only passage in the Bible that seems to bear upon it is Leviticus x. 1–11, where the priests are taught, by the terrible fate of Nadab and Abihu, not to drink wine or strong drink before their public ministry. This was, it may be alleged, a good reason against communion after breakfast,

[1] *Diocesan Gazette*, 1898, p. 184.

when breakfast included wine or strong drink, as it did in the first ages of Christianity and up to the seventeenth century. But, now that our breakfasts are what they are, this text, at any rate, does not apply to communions in the morning hours, except as a general caution to reverence."

In regard to reservation of the Holy Communion, a practice which he would sanction only within narrow limits, the Bishop met with persistent opposition from certain of the clergy. He stated his belief and policy to Bishop Wallis [1]:—

"There are certain clergy . . . who give me a good deal of anxiety. They have got their people to value a 'mass' at 11 o'clock and have made it a popular service, at which few or none communicate, and when I tell them they ought to have it at 9, they say they can't get the people then. I believe they could. I shall not desist from insisting on the rule about three communicants. I am afraid my predecessor did.

"As to reservation, I think there is a considerable practical difference between taking the sacrament straight to absent members of the congregation who have been following the service in their rooms, and local reservation. There are three dangers in the latter: (1) profaneness or superstition; (2) raising bitter controversy; (3) deprivation of the sick of their certain right to a celebration (if they have two fellow-communicants). If my men are obstinate I shall issue a formal order to them which will be entered in the registry of the diocese, and a copy sent to the churchwardens."

A little earlier he had written to one of the clergy in question as follows:—

"I regret to receive your letter, which is practically a request that I will permit you to do what you know is, in my opinion, contrary to the law of the Church of England. I am bound to make this law respected in every parish of the diocese, and I cannot divest myself of this responsibility in the sight

[1] 16th May, 1901.

of God by any tenderness to individuals. You hold, I understand, a different opinion from myself in this matter, but that again does not relieve me from the responsibility.

"I have therefore to ask you once again as a Priest of the diocese who has taken the oath of canonical obedience to myself, to obey what I hold to be a 'legal and honest command,' viz. to desist from the practice of reservation of the Blessed Sacrament in the church of —— or elsewhere, and to promise me that you will not renew the practice so long as you minister in this diocese.

"I much regret to have to put my direction in this formal way, but no other course is open to me."

A minor point on which he laid frequent stress was the inappropriateness of the service of boys at the altar. One example, out of many, of his treatment of this subject is given here :—

"In regard to the practice of employing boy-servers, I think it is dangerous as being the use of the wrong instruments for a great work. The servants of the sanctuary should be men, not younger usually than eighteen years of age, who have some sense of the responsibilities of life, and who can be naturally regarded by the congregation as their representatives, as far as the work they do may be fitly done by those not in Holy Orders. What those duties should be has never been defined in the Church of England, and it is desirable that they should be made clearer. In the mean time, such duties as belong to the churchwardens and sidesmen, either by law or custom, which on any occasion they cannot discharge in person, should be done by persons of sufficiently mature age to be fairly considered their deputies. When these duties are done by children the sacred mysteries are apt to be despised, especially if there are no men at all in the congregation, and the difficulty of bringing men to Holy Communion is increased. This is one of the 'moral reasons' which constitute to my mind the danger of the practice.

"Then there is the danger to the clergy themselves of relying on such instruments as come easily to their hand, and being satisfied with an insufficient hold upon men. Sometimes

this is accompanied by an indiscreet favouritism which creates jealousy in other boys and injures the influence of the clergy concerned.

"But the chief danger is to the boys themselves, that of over-familiarity with holy things and premature advancement to spiritual privileges. This may result, as you know, in an overweening confidence in the rightness of certain details of ceremonial and the wrongness of others, and an undervaluing of the unseen meaning of the Sacrament consequent on an overvaluing of its outward expression. It may also lead to contempt and scepticism, and to a feeling of having used up all the treasures of the Church."

His reasons were given in one instance to the Archdeacon of Dorset [1]:—

"As regards the age of 'servers,' if they do the duty of Acolytes it should not be less than that of Acolytes. This has varied, and I shall mention the variations, and probably fix on 17–18 years as with us the *accessus adolescentiae*. Some put it as low as 14, others as high as 20. National feeling and custom and racial peculiarities make it variable, but a young fellow may plausibly be said to be fit to represent the Church when he is about 18 years of age.

"I have some other things to say on other points, but this is the one that has caused most excitement. It is curious how habitually careless people are—I cannot help thinking almost intentionally (as otherwise they would not be able to exercise their gifts of indignation)—in reading formal documents. They approach a letter written by a Bishop with the hope of finding in it something to make them angry, and snatch at the first chance. It is an unfortunate temper caused, I greatly believe, by the loose writing of certain 'Church' newspapers."

On another practice of people of the same school of thought, the use of incense, he addressed a long letter to a clergyman of the Province of York, who certainly had no claim upon him. It was characteristic of the

[1] 20th December, 1904.

Bishop that he would, with the utmost care and patience, meet the questions or difficulties of those who wrote to him for their own instruction. He covered many pages, for instance, with replies to the Baptist Pastor in an obscure village, to whom he cited Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Origen, and the *Pilgrim's Progress*. A personal appeal always met a courteous response; but he was infallible in detecting the attempts of those who attempted to inveigle him into a public correspondence for the advertisement of their cause or themselves. The gentleman who wrote to Bishop Wordsworth about incense did so in protest against a published statement of the Bishop's that—

"the obligation of custom is, strictly speaking, of much less stringency than that of doctrine, and National Churches have the right to their customs where they do not interfere with the Catholic faith or the fundamental institutions of the Church."

To this the correspondent retorted that he considered himself bound to use incense as a Catholic custom, in spite of his Diocesan's objection. He gave his reasons and asked the Bishop to discuss the case. The reply was:—

"Before I touch your special reasons, I would point out that no individual incumbent can be obliged in conscience to use incense, however much he may consider it to be a laudable custom, because in a great part of the Western Church to this day there is no such use in far the largest number of Eucharistic celebrations. See on this point Dr. Krieg's article, *Weihrauch*, p. 971, in Kraus' *Real-encyclopädie der Christl. Alterthümer*, 1886. The Latin Church has shown itself singularly indifferent in the matter. There is nothing, *e.g.*, in the Council of Trent to assert the necessity of the use, although incidentally 'thymiamata' are mentioned as exterior helps to worship instituted by the Church. The anathema appended only touches those who coarsely malign such

ceremonies. (Sess. xxii., *de sacrificio missae*, cap. v. and canon vii.) As regards pre-Reformation use in this country, the figures given by Mr. St. John Hope in the *Case for Incense*, 1899, show that in 1552 censers are noted as existing in 27 per cent. only of the churches of twelve counties. A clergyman, therefore, who, from whatever cause, does not use incense is only doing what presumably three-fourths of his predecessors were doing before the middle of the sixteenth century. He may hold, as much as he pleases, that it is a laudable custom, but he is not in conscience bound to adopt it.

"As regards the Greek Church, there is, I believe, an universal custom; but no dogmatic teaching in the Councils, except in reference to a use of incense, which I trust you would yourself not feel bound to. This is to be found in the Acts of the Seventh General Council, A.D. 787 (Labbe, *Concilia*, vii., p. 555), which describes the reverence due to images as (partly) consisting of burning incense and lights before them after the same manner as they are burnt before the Cross and the Gospels.

"The positive arguments that you use are intended, I presume, simply to prove that the use of incense is a laudable custom permissible to yourself in the exercise of your liberty as a Priest in the Church of England. . . . These arguments appear to be three: (1) drawn from a parenthesis in the Preface to the Prayer-book of 1662; (2) one from the Ornaments Rubric; (3) one from its value as a help towards unity.

"As regards (1) I would point out that the parenthesis in question, 'as secretly striking at some established doctrine or laudable practice of the Church of England, or indeed of the whole Catholic Church of Christ,' is a historical reference to what happened at the Savoy Conference in 1661. The reference is to the Puritan objections to the Prayer-book, and especially, I presume, to the 'exceptions' against the Book of Common Prayer printed by Cardwell, *Conferences*, pp. 303–335. The 'laudable practices' would be such observances as those of Lent and Saints' Days, which are discussed in the 'exceptions,' p. 306, and in the Bishops' *Answer*, pp. 339–341. There is nothing whatever to show that the framers of the Prayer-book of 1662 felt themselves bound to uphold

any practices which were not those of the Church of England, as practices which men were bound to follow. Their language, at the most, implies that they would have resented harsh censure of them. Most Churchmen would feel aggrieved if any modern Puritan denounced the foreign use of incense as impious; but few could think it necessary unless it were prescribed by the Church of which they were more particularly members.

"(2) As regards the Ornaments Rubric, I have myself no doubt that as the words are drawn from an Act of Parliament (2 Eliz. c. 2, sec. 13) where the words are, as you know, 'retained and be in use,' not 'used,' as in some inexact reprints, they are to be interpreted as they would be in an Act of Parliament. The reference is clearly to the First Prayer-book of Edward VI., which alone provides a standard by which an offender could reasonably submit to be judged. The supposed reference to a transitory state of the law, covered by the Communion Order of 1548, which must even in 1558–9 have been laboriously recovered by experts, and much more so in 1662, is to me inconceivable. I pass over the well-known arguments about the method of citation of Acts of Parliament by the year when the bill was introduced, and other like considerations which to me are perfectly satisfactory. If you reply that they are not satisfactory to antiquaries and experts, I can only say that not they but lawyers are the proper interpreters of what the words of an Act of Parliament mean. But supposing the antiquaries to be right, they could only prove that incense might be used, not that it must be used. My object in this letter is not to prove that you are breaking the law, but that you are not bound to disobey your Bishop.

"(3) The value of the use as a help to unity with foreign churches under present conditions is highly problematical; its value for promoting unity at home is clearly nil. It is destructive of unity. Intelligent members of the Greek Church have spoken strongly to me of the disobedience of certain of our clergy as lowering the Church of England in their eyes, even though they are promoting a custom which might be a link of outward approach to Greek usage.

"I will not repeat what I have already said as to the value of a variety of custom when the faith remains one.

You, I gather, do not agree on this point with St. Irenaeus and St. Gregory the Great.

"I have written this letter rather hurriedly, but I would beg you to consider it not as controversial, but as a brotherly attempt to help to reconcile an earnest fellow-worker to the system of the Church of which he is a minister. 'Blessed are the peace-makers,' but their task is hard."

The practice of Invocation of Saints and Angels was one which the Bishop discouraged to the utmost. His efforts against it began in 1898, but he did not enter upon the literary controversy till 1907, when he contributed an introduction to the learned *Doctrina Romanensium* [1] of the Rev. H. F. Stewart, which had been written at his instigation. In the next year he published his own *Invocation of Saints and the Twenty-second Article.*[2] A certain amount of criticism was directed against his work by advocates of the medieval practice, but he was quite unconvinced. When the author of a would-be refutation of his paper sent him, in 1908, the proof-sheets of his reply, the Bishop answered thus :—

"I do not think you would be the gainer argumentatively by publishing this tract, and I deprecate your doing so for your own sake. My experience is larger than yours, and I know better than you do the suffering you might have to bear if you put yourself forward before all the world as an obstinate opponent of your Bishop's authority in such a matter. My care for your reputation and happiness and consequent usefulness to the Church is a very real one. As regards the results of the doctrine and practice of Invocation, I judge by the broad facts which are matter of common observation and historical experience. You judge by a somewhat narrow

[1] *Doctrina Romanensium*, being a brief inquiry into the principles that underlie the practice of the Invocation of Saints. London, S.P.C.K., 1907.

[2] S.P.C.K., 1908; second edition, with a new preface, 1910.

circle of cases where the doctrine and practice have been guardedly admitted in the view of the criticism to which they have been exposed. You even suggest that those 'who denounce Invocation' are guilty of heresy. I cannot permit this liberty to you, and I believe that this teaching is erroneous and that it is disloyal to your Mother Church of England for you to give it. I am bound to check you in fulfilment of my own vows. I must ask you in all brotherly charity to believe that I have conscientious convictions as well as yourself and that I am in no degree actuated by personal prejudice."

He admits, in another letter to the same, that—

"such teaching is given both in the Greek and Latin Churches, but I hold that, in both these communions, experience shows that the result is injurious. The instinct of prayer and devotion is largely diverted from the Creator to the creature, and the glory of Christ, the one Mediator, is obscured by the distinction that is drawn between mediators of intercession and the Mediator of redemption. I recollect, of course, what is said by yourself and others in reply; but (as you know) I do not accept these replies and distinctions as of practical value, particularly in the case of unlettered persons."

To the same :—

"I think 'Comprecation' undesirable on two grounds: (1) it has been excluded by our Church from the liturgy and collects; (2) it is, historically and naturally, the first step towards direct Invocation. At the same time I have always said that Article XXII. is aimed at direct Invocation, and I am aware that the objections to direct Invocation do not all apply to Comprecation."

To the same :—

"You heard what I said in Synod in regard to any one of our clergy whom I know to be teaching the practice of Invocation, viz. that I shall let the parishioners know my disapproval of such teaching. Before taking the necessary steps in your case I think it right to give you an opportunity

of voluntarily submitting to my direction to cease from such teaching."

A little later the Bishop has somewhat modified his plan. He writes to another correspondent :—

"I should have to write two letters, one to the churchwardens and one to the school managers, since the priest in question teaches it both from the pulpit (as I understand) and in school. I am not contemplating a prosecution."

He had, in fact, defined the doctrine to the clergyman implicated as "plainly erroneous and unwise, though not heretical."

It was unhappily unavoidable that time should be spent on such controversies. The clergy opposed to the Bishop were very few in number, their parishes were unimportant, and it would be flattery to say that, apart from their occupation of parishes, they were important themselves. But they were persistent; they refused to reason with him as divines with divine, or as priests with their Diocesan. In obedience to some occult authority they were disobedient to him. Two days before his death, on the 14th August, 1911, he wrote a long letter, which would occupy some three pages of this book, going patiently over the familiar arguments on behalf of reason and loyalty, to a clergyman who had long taxed his endurance.[1] It is pitiful that such patience and such knowledge should have been expended on topics and occasions so inadequate.

But he felt it to be his duty, however small the prospect

[1] The subjects were: "Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament over the altar with a light burning before it; the use of processional lights; the cultus of a sacred picture or pictures by placing lights and flowers before them, and, in the case of one of your staff, doing reverence to them,—I am glad to hear that you have forbidden this action on his part, and I therefore need give no further directions about this detail; the censing of persons and things in Holy Communion."

of success, to continue his protests. When his struggle had already lasted for some years, he wrote to the Archdeacon of Dorset [1]:—

"It seems to me that it is only by action of this kind that one can obtain the right to interfere (as I may probably have to do in Parliament or elsewhere) to defend the liberty of the Church to regulate its own affairs. If Bishops do nothing to check manifest irregularities—and in my opinion all intrusions of ceremonies, however highly authorised elsewhere, into the Prayer-book service are irregular—Parliament may well say, 'You are unfit for your office; we will lay down how you *must* act.' . . . The difficulty of united action among the Bishops is a real one. I fear that any pronouncements made by a Bishops' Meeting at Lambeth would be at once fiercely attacked as irregular; and you know what uphill work it is to get the Representative Church Council to do anything which requires deliberation. I hope to get some of my brethren to work with me, and I have had some encouraging letters from them. . . . I think some action might possibly be taken by the Bishops of the Province in Convocation, who after all are most directly concerned."

He was convinced that the English Church has its own witness to bear. He worked steadily to "level up" the conduct of services; but he had no tolerance for an undignified and thoughtless imitation of another communion. He could give strong expression to his feelings. Speaking of the Liverpool Church Congress, in which he had just taken part, he writes [2]:—

"We had last night an excellent meeting on the training of candidates for Holy Orders, where I presided and had to keep order while J. A. Kensit fulminated against theological colleges. It is a pity that that side should not be better represented. For there is a real Romanising spirit which hardly conceals its Roman tendency. I have just examined

[1] 5th January, 1905.
[2] To Bishop Wallis, 8th October, 1904.

a man for institution who claims liberty not only to use but to recommend the 'Hail Mary' as a private devotion. This consists, as you probably know—though I confess I have only lately definitely ascertained it—not only of words of Scripture, but ends, 'Holy Mother of God, pray for us now and at the hour of our death.' I shall probably reject him (unless he gives in) and run the risk of an action which I do not think he would win. I think I sent you my paper on 'The Queen of Heaven,' also caused by a practical experience."

And on a cognate topic,[1] the symbolism of vows as constituting a marriage :—

"I shall probably have publicly to fight against it. It presses the old (but unscriptural) metaphor of the bride of Christ, applying what belongs to the whole Church to an individual woman in a most misleading manner, so as to make any lapse into marriage after leaving a sisterhood an adultery. Such cases, no doubt, are very rare, but antiquity met them, when the metaphor was used, by raising the age of profession or by giving the Bishops power to remit penance, *i.e.* practically by giving them a dispensing power. You will see what I say on this when you get my fifth chapter[2] on the ministry of women.

"I am afraid that hitherto Bishops have been weak about it—perhaps not having studied the subject—and have generally gone on the line that, having to do with women, you must admit a good deal of unreal sentimentality. This seems to me injurious to the women themselves. It reminds me of the discussion in the Talmud whether women should lay hands on the sacrifices. It was decided that it made no difference whether they did or not, but it was admissible, 'to soothe the spirit of the women,' if I recollect the Hebrew rightly."

This chapter may end with a subject which has been of late forced into some prominence. In reply to the

[1] To the same. Undated, but in 1901.
[2] Of the *Ministry of Grace*.

Bishop of London, who had consulted him on the unction of the sick, he wrote [1]:—

"If any encouragement is to be given, either by general or diocesan authority, to the revival of this practice, we ought to avoid, not merely the limitations of the Roman rite of extreme unction, but (1) any appearance of locally and permanently transferring Divine power and presence into the *creatura olei*; (2) the consequent requirement that the Bishop should be a sort of spiritual apothecary, keeping a store of unguents of divers kinds. The oil should be blessed in the immediate presence of the sick person for whom it is intended, and by the Bishop or Presbyter performing the rite, and, in fact, in the prayer in which he prays for the sick man's recovery. This would follow the wise method of our Liturgical prayer of consecration 'that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine . . . may be partakers,' etc. There seems no sufficient precedent or reason for restricting the benediction to a Bishop, and, in the Roman Church, the *Benedictio olei simplicis*, to be used where there is hope of recovery and not as an extreme unction, is permitted to be said by a Presbyter.

"No doubt our Prayer-book is defective in this point, that it contains no strong and definite prayer for recovery from sickness, even that in the Communion of the Sick being somewhat wanting in force. Personally I am in favour of using such a strong prayer, with laying on of hands, and I constantly do it. But I understand how strongly this Scriptural precedent appeals to many, and I can conceive that it may be right to give it further weight and to concede more to it than we have done. If, therefore, such a rite be anywhere and anyhow introduced, I recommend that it should be very simple, and consist perhaps of Psalm 23 and a short lesson from St. James and such a prayer as the following:—

"'O Lord God Almighty, Maker of all good creatures and Giver of all good gifts for the comfort and service of man, the Dispenser of life and health, the great Physician of soul and body, look graciously upon this thy servant *N.*, now lying before thee. Give *him* faith to trust in thy mercy, and give us confidence to minister to *him* according to thy will. Bless

[1] 9th January, 1906.

this oil with which we shall anoint *him* and the hands which we shall lay upon *him*, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Give insight and skill to the physicians [and surgeons] who shall attend *him*, and watchfulness and tenderness to those who nurse *him*. Bless all the means used for *his* recovery, to the ease and prevention of pain and the restoration of health and strength, if it be thy holy will. And if *he* have committed sins which have brought this sickness upon *him*, grant that they may be forgiven *him*. All this we ask in the Name and for the sake of Jesus Christ, thy only Son our Lord. Amen.' "

When he was asked, at a later time, for specific directions, he gave the following rules [1] :—

" I think that two or more Presbyters should be present (if possible), and if the Bishop of —— can be with you, so much the better. I direct that (1) the anointing should take place as part of the service for the Visitation of the Sick, after the confession and absolution, if it be used on this occasion ; (2) that the following prayer [2] be used before the anointing, and after the Psalm and antiphon ' O Saviour of the world ' ; (3) that the anointing be on the forehead, or on the forehead and the palms of the hands ; (4) that all the oil be consumed ; (5) that the hands of the Presbyters present be laid on the head of the patient when the blessing is given, ' The Almighty Lord who is a most strong tower.' . . .

" You will see that in the prayer mention is made of *other means* used. I think it most important that the clergy should co-operate with the physicians, and not seem to slight, much less to supplant, the skill which is God's gift to them, and which they constantly use with so much piety."

Similarly, when, a few weeks later, Archdeacon Lear drew his attention to the want of a prayer for the medical profession, he drew up the following :—

" O merciful Father, who hast wonderfully fashioned man in thine image, and hast made his body to be a temple of the

[1] To Canon Dugmore, of Parkstone, 17th January, 1909.
[2] Given above.

Holy Ghost, vouchsafe to bless and sanctify all those whom thou hast called to study that body in health and sickness, and to whom thou hast given gifts of power to prevent disease and to restore health and soundness. Strengthen and support them in body and soul, give them prudence and discernment, patience and confidence in thee, that they may themselves live as members and servants of Christ, and have joy in comforting those whom he lived and died to serve, through him who now liveth with thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God world without end. Amen."

CHAPTER XIII

RELATIONS WITH OTHER CHURCHES

THE present chapter must range over many lands. An inherited interest in efforts made abroad for freedom from Rome led Bishop John Wordsworth to follow the fortunes of Old Catholics with sympathy; as a Bishop he was charged by successive Archbishops with the duty of examining into the cases of many communions, and giving them, as might be needful, counsel or support. Wherever in Christendom there was a Church that had, or professed to have, the historical episcopate, his interest was awakened; and a Church, even though it were unepiscopal, that could claim to be national was also in his eyes worthy of regard.

We have seen that in the earliest days of the Old Catholic movement he had been brought by his father into contact with its leaders, and had come heartily to admire them and to cherish hopes, for the English Church as well as for them, from their success. He was therefore frankly opposed to Rome. Bishop Christopher Wordsworth, as his published writings show, was vigorously hostile to that Church; no one who interpreted the Apocalypse as he did could fail in such repugnance. It is needless to say that the son rejected that exegesis; yet he also strongly disapproved of Roman teaching and Roman methods. At times he was led into emphatic utterance in debate, but only when that curious division of labour in the Roman communion, where the scholars

abstain from controversy and the controversialists are not scholars, brought some divine upon the scene who had to eke out his deficiencies by arguments that seemed to be lacking in candour. Then the Bishop could be trenchant in his criticism.[1] But this did not lessen his admiration for the scholars of that communion; some of them were his friends and with many there was a courteous interchange of ideas and of information. And he did his best to remove one real grievance under which Roman Catholics labour. Before the Coronation of King Edward VII. he took part in the debates of the House of Lords on the oath to be tendered to the King, and proposed that, instead of the offensive emphasis given to the rejection of transubstantiation, the form—

"I humbly and sincerely profess my faith in the Gospel of Our Lord Jesus Christ, as taught in the Reformed Church of England as by law established, and do reject the doctrines of the Church of Rome on the supremacy, infallibility, and dispensing power of the Pope, and on transubstantiation."

In a letter to the *Times* [2] he explained that since the Vatican Council of 1870 the infallibility and other attributes of the Pope are articles of faith, and to omit them from such a declaration is nothing less than ludicrous. Transubstantiation is no longer the most obvious and appropriate distinction, as it was at the time of the Test Act in 1673. It was then the only doctrine that was to the point, for a dispensation could be had for taking, *e.g.* the oath of supremacy, but not for a denial of transubstantiation. Infallibility is now a barrier equally insurmountable. It is needless to say that this suggestion of the Bishop was not more successful than those made by others. The desire for courtesy was not accompanied by

[1] *E.g.* in two letters to the *Guardian* of the 9th and 30th December, 1896, headed, "A Bogus Document" and signed by "A Lover of Truth."
[2] 25th July, 1901.

any wish for the minimising of differences between England and Rome. The Bishop, in fact, wished them to be conspicuous, and one of the reasons why he desired the clergy to deny themselves some indulgences in the revival of ancient usage was that the distinction ran thereby the danger of being obscured. His general attitude towards Rome may be illustrated by this letter,[1] in which he urged Archbishop Benson to protest against the opening of diplomatic relations with the Roman Court.

"It is easy to see why the Government is bidding for Papal support. But is it not also easy to show—and is it not our duty to show it?—(1) that to treat the Vatican as a court to which embassies should be sent is to do Roman Catholic Christianity really a great injury—to stereotype in it the worldly spirit of intrigue and grasping at secular dominion; (2) that such recognition abroad must inevitably carry recognition at home, and react unfavourably upon the dignity and establishment of the Church of England. We already begin to hear of the 'Rector of Hounslow,' etc., as well as of the 'Archbishop of Westminster'; (3) that politically it is a great mistake to act contrary to the interests of the Italian Government—the only country, except perhaps Greece, whose interests on the Continent are identical with our own. . . . This is a topic on which we ought, I venture to think, to have a brave and decided and if possible united policy."

It so happened that the Bishop's first duties in regard to movements for reform within the Roman communion were in Italy itself. In 1886 he was charged by Archbishop Benson, as his delegate, to inquire into the state of the Italian body of which Canon Count Campello was the leader. He was empowered to give letters of communion to seceders dissatisfied with Roman doctrine, and was asked generally to show sympathy, to make himself acquainted with the men and the circumstances, and

[1] 12th January, 1888.

report to the next Lambeth Conference, after which his task would be at an end. He threw himself with zeal into the work, offering his aid to Count Campello in the difficult task of governing his little communion. In some English quarters there was great confidence in the Count, and high hope of his success. Two Monsignori were among his adherents, and he had several congregations, at Rome and in Umbria. But the Bishop from the first had his doubts. He wrote that Count Campello was "a good man, but too much of an orator to be a great leader." And, in fact, there were dubious characters among his adherents; the Bishop used a startling frankness in the questions he put concerning their history and their motives. He was disappointed, but he had not been deceived. Little money was expended, and no licence or other official recognition was granted. Campello himself was above suspicion. In 1892 the Bishop was engaged in revising an Italian liturgy for his congregations, and so long as the cause was maintained, though with increasing feebleness, his interest in it continued. But before long Count Campello had returned to his allegiance to the Vatican, and the whole movement collapsed.

The Bishop took also a great interest even in the smallest details of an attempt made to retain for Christianity a number of Italians in London who were alienated from their own Church. The Rev. William Dawson, Rector of St. John's, Clerkenwell, found that many, especially those who had married English wives, were under no religious influence, and from 1886 to 1889 he supported a mission among them. It did a substantial work in the hands of Signor Mola, an Italian who had long served the Church Missionary Society in India and Ceylon and was living in retirement in London when he was invited to undertake this task. The Bishop was

drawn into the effort as part of the charge which the Archbishop had imposed upon him. Unhappily Signor Mola soon died: "both a patriotic Italian and a devout and instructed Christian. *Sit anima nostra cum illo in die iudicii,*" wrote the Bishop after his death.[1] No fit successor could be found. Experiments were made, but in spite of careful regulations provided for their life and work, the Italian clergy who were imported proved unworthy of trust, and at the end of 1889 this attempt also was abandoned.

Yet the Bishop was sure that the principle on which he acted was right. To him this was a particular case exemplifying, less vigorously than others, a legitimate revolt. An injudicious partisan had described the undertaking as an "Italian mission"—

"which looks," he wrote,[2] "as if I were directing a mission from England to convert Italy, which as you know is far from my wish. On the other hand, to describe Count Campello as an 'Apostate Priest,' or to parallel the Old Catholic position on the Continent to that of Wesleyans and other Dissenters at home is very misleading in another direction. I am quite alive to the danger of seeming to countenance schism. . . . This is how I view it.

"(1) Schism is not a question of numbers; the few may be right where the many may be wrong. In the year 359–360 the majority of Bishops, both of the East and West, accepted an uncatholic (Homoean) Creed. 'In the East (says Mr. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, p. 186) the Homoean Supremacy lasted for nearly twenty years.' St. Hilary and St. Athanasius might have been called schismatics and apostates if numbers went for everything or anything.

"(2) In this case the Old Catholics are standing their ground and doing their best to draw others to act with them. They are not innovators. They are not introducing new forms of doctrine or ritual or discipline. They consider episcopal

[1] To the *Guardian*, 3rd March, 1888.
[2] To the Rev. G. F. Hooper, 26th February, 1888.

orders essential. They hold the Catholic creeds, etc., etc. They do not set up a standard of doctrine of man's devising as the Wesleyans do in Wesley's Sermons and Notes on the New Testament. In all matters of principle they agree with ourselves.

"(3) The Old Catholics have a far stronger reason for breaking away from Rome than we had. They see the outcome and development of the Papal pretensions, of which our fathers only saw the first stages. Our Reformation is justified after the fact, in a way which our Reformers could only conjecture, by the dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and of the Vatican Council (the Universal Bishopric and personal Infallibility of the Pope).

"(4) The question of heresy is very important. Heresy is hard to define, but it is, I suppose, such grave error in doctrine as makes Christian communion impossible. There are degrees of heresy and therefore degrees of communion. Some heresies, such as those of an immoral kind, *e.g.* the Mormon, make all religious communion impossible. Others (such probably as the Armenian, viewed from the standpoint of the Easterns) are now so involuntary that we should unite in almost all ways, except, it may be, the mutual reception of the Eucharist, and even this would be permissible in cases of necessity. I hold that the Roman Church is heretical in a way to make it a duty to separate from its rulers, and to protest against its heretical teaching of demonstrable errors under pain of eternal damnation, without making it necessary to deny the validity of its Sacraments or to call upon all Roman Catholics to break with the system under which they have been brought up. I should much rather worship in a Roman Church than in none at all, but I would far rather worship in a conventicle with those who felt the sacredness of truth if (being a Roman Catholic) I were refused the communion as the Old Catholics everywhere are—unless I acknowledged Roman errors.

"(5) The Old Catholics may fairly say with our own Reformers, *schisma patimur non facimus*. It is, I think, cruel on our part to hold this as true for ourselves, and then to look upon them with coldness. Their fewness, and comparative insignificance, is a proof of the weakness of principle in the Roman communion, where not one Bishop has remained

outwardly faithful to the cause of truth. I believe a sense of the sacredness of truth can only be restored in that communion by the creation of a strong Catholic body in all lands of the West and in all our Eastern dependencies, independent of Rome."

The Bishop, in 1887, renewed his acquaintance with the Old Catholics, which had begun in his visits to Germany in 1871 and 1872, in the latter of which years he had, with his father, attended the Conference at Cologne. He wished to make some useful contribution to the Lambeth Conference which was to assemble in 1888, and it occurred to him that accurate information concerning the present state and doctrine of the Old Catholics would be acceptable. The Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Maclagan) had a like design, proposing to visit Italy to study the movement there. Bishop Wordsworth knew too much to be hopeful in that quarter. He suggested, and the Bishop of Lichfield agreed, that they should visit the Old Catholics in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, "where we knew that there were communities of some standing, led by men of power and learning." They arranged to meet Bishop Reinkens at Bonn, Bishop Herzog at Olten, near Basel, and Dr. Czech, the administrator of the Austrian Old Catholics, who had not succeeded in obtaining the permission of his government for his consecration, at Vienna. The Bishop of Salisbury wished to gain authority for the inquiry.

"I laid the matter of our proposed journey before the Archbishop, and drafted a short Latin letter, which he was good enough to adopt and sign, with some alterations, so as to give an official sanction to our visit and to make it almost an embassy from the English Church."

The two Bishops took each a chaplain, to add to his state. The conferences ranged over faith and practice,

and careful notes were taken by the Bishop of Salisbury; but since the story has been told in the *Life* of Archbishop Maclagan [1] it need not be repeated here.

In the following year a similar visit was paid to the kindred Church of Holland, from which those of Germany and Switzerland had obtained their episcopal orders. This time the Bishop's companion was the Bishop of Newcastle (Dr. Wilberforce), and again there was a commendatory letter from the Archbishop, setting forth that they were come—

"with the view of obtaining some trustworthy information as to the present conditions, tenets, and practice of the Old Catholic Church of Holland, and to give such information to the Bishops about to be assembled in Conference at Lambeth."

There seems to have been more aloofness in this meeting with the conservative Gallicans than with the modern Old Catholics. The two Bishops, with two clergy,[2] met Archbishop Heykamp, of Utrecht, and three of his priests, and put to the Dutchmen a series of questions which covered history, doctrine, and practice. Their relation to Jansenius, irresistible grace, the Council of Trent and the Creed of Pope Pius, their Sacraments and their mode of administering them, their Service Books and text-books of theology were some of the topics on which inquiry was made. Rarely can a body of dignified clergy have been subjected to so rigorous an examination. It came out in the course of the investigation that—

"the question of the Anglican succession has never been formally examined or determined by the Church of Holland, but they were inclined to acknowledge it on the authority of Fleury, tome xxxi., pp. 97–99, which was produced from the Library. They promised to examine it synodically."

[1] Chap. XXIII.

[2] Mr. R. S. Oldham, Rector of Little Chart, Kent, and Mr. P. H. Ditchfield, Rector of Barkham, Berks.

Much courtesy and personal kindness was shown to the Bishops in their visits to the various congregations; but perhaps there was a certain poetical justice in the deliberation with which the Dutch ecclesiastics proceeded in their side of the inquiry. They have not even yet arrived at a conclusion concerning the validity of English Orders. The Bishop has left a full record of his attempts to enlighten them in his Appendix to the *Life* of Archbishop Temple.[1] It must suffice here to say that he wrote two learned tracts for the resolution of their doubts; doubts that were not shared by Döllinger and the Old Catholics. The first of these papers was the *De Successione Episcoporum in Ecclesia Anglicana*, published in 1890.[2] He records in his own copy that "it has been revised by W. Oxon,[3] and indeed was written very much from notes made after a conversation with him, so that I hope it is fairly correct." Archbishop Benson corrected it in proof. For a time the Bishop had hopes that the Dutch were being convinced by his plea; but a new Archbishop arose at Utrecht, and the tone hardened. They were, after all, a body who represented Gallican Churchmanship of the days of Louis XIV., and it was not very strange that they should repeat objections that Bossuet might have urged against the Anglican position. Amid the sorrow of Mrs. Wordsworth's mortal illness the Bishop again took up his pen and replied in his *De Validitate Ordinum Anglicanorum Responsio ad Batavos.*[4] From this time onwards this special debate was lost to sight, and the controversy took a wider range, the Roman Church itself sharing in the discussion.

[1] Vol. II. 388–397.

[2] In Latin and English: republished in English only, 1892 (S.P.C.K.).

[3] Bishop Stubbs.

[4] Dated 18th October, 1894; Mrs. Wordsworth had died on the 23rd June. Second edition, Brown, Salisbury, 1895.

The time for that story has not yet come. We are still in 1888. After his return from Holland the Bishop welcomed a party of his foreign friends to Salisbury. Bishop Herzog came from Berne, the Administrator from Vienna was there, and Count Campello, with various clergy, including some from Holland. All, including these last, communicated with the Bishop in the Palace chapel. In the next year, 1889, Mrs. Wordsworth's health compelled her to visit Marienbad. The Bishop, who accompanied her, took the opportunity of increasing his acquaintance with these allies. He spent three days with the Bohemian Old Catholics, of German nationality, at Warnsdorf. On Sunday, the 13th September, he received the Communion at their service and gave the benediction. He is loud in his praise; of one of their congregations he says: "I have seldom or never seen a more attractive body of people, and I rather longed to apply for the post of Pfarrer there myself." Many were engaged in the Bohemian glass industry, and he characteristically thought that it might be introduced at Salisbury. On his way home he met Bishops Reinkens and Herzog at Crefeld, where again he found a large and hearty congregation of Old Catholics. His judgment on his whole experience was—

"It is no small result surely of the Old Catholic movement even now that a chain of Christian communities, agreeing with ourselves in most important points of Church discipline and doctrine, is firmly established from Rotterdam to Vienna, and that in all of these English Churchmen are welcomed as friends and brethren, though the degree of intercommunion between us and them is not absolutely the same in all."

In the following year, 1890, he took part in the Old Catholic Congress at Cologne, and in 1891 at Lucerne. The latter was peculiarly cosmopolitan. Easterns as well as Anglicans were still full of hope from the new

movement. During the proceedings the new church of the Old Catholics was consecrated, and the Bishop gave an address on the occasion in German and received the Holy Communion. This was on the 15th August. Mrs. Wordsworth has described her share in the events in a letter written next day to a friend :—

"Madame Weibel (the wife of the Pfarrer) was standing by her husband receiving her guests in her black silk dress, a little hot and flustered, partly shy and partly from her cooking, which she had just left and returned to the moment we were seated at the table. I soon felt that I should be far happier waiting on the guests with her and her girl than sitting at table, the only woman. . . . It was such fun running in and out of the kitchen (next door to the dining-room) fetching clean plates and bringing in dirty ones, etc., that I was quite sorry when it was over, and Madame Weibel, rather tired and breathless, but quite self-possessed and enthusiastic, came and had a long quiet talk with me in the salon, sending the children off to bed. The lights below us and the stars above, and just the outline of the lake and snow mountains behind, made a beautiful picture and made me think, 'Here we see darkly, but there——' John and I walked home soon after ten, talking about our party with its many nationalities and different characters. The next morning, as we were getting up, came a note from the Archbishop of Patras asking if we were going up Pilatus and if he might come with us. John answered it in Greek as well as he could under the circumstances, and after breakfast Pfarrer Weckerle from St. Gall, Mr. Isaacs from Armenia, who is just going to Calcutta, and the Greek Archbishop of Patras met us at the steamboat, where we also met the American Consul and others. . . ."

Again, in 1892, the Bishop went to the Congress at Lucerne, and was well satisfied. There were present not only Bishops and others from Holland, Germany, and Austria, but also Count Campello from Italy, and the Czar's confessor, Archpriest Janyscheff, from Russia. Again he gave a German address, at a devotional meeting,

when, in regard to the scruples of his friends from Utrecht, he said: "I expect to live to see the day when, on Swiss and German ground at any rate, Anglicans and Dutch may freely join in communion." On this occasion he received the honorary degree of D.D. from the Old Catholic faculty of Berne. The Conference in which he took part followed closely upon that at Grindelwald, famous in its day. Of it he wrote [1]: "I rather fancy that that Conference, too, may have done some good."

The illness of Mrs. Wordsworth in 1893 interrupted this intercourse, which was not again resumed with much frequency, though the Bishop was a regular contributor to the *Revue internationale de Théologie*, the quarterly organ of Old Catholic scholarship. But the knowledge he had acquired—his notebooks contain information about their constitutional and financial problems, the education and mode of thought of their clergy and kindred matters which would be of value to a future historian of the movement—enabled him to the last to keep in touch with their leaders and to follow their fortunes.

The public interest in the subject of English Orders was awakened by the efforts of an excellent French priest, the Abbé Portal. The story has been fully told by Lord Halifax,[2] and its later phases described with much skill by Mr. Arthur Benson, in his *Life* of his father, the Archbishop.[3] When the Abbé, writing under the name "Fernand Dalbus," formally denied the validity of our Orders, but obviously stated the case in their favour as strongly as he could, it was natural that the Bishop should express his view. In January, 1894, "Fernand Dalbus" published his *Ordinations Anglicanes*; the Bishop wrote him a letter on the subject in May, and addressed two letters in later months of the year to an unnamed

[1] To Mr. Bodington, 21st September, 1892.
[2] *Leo XIII. and Anglican Orders.* London, 1912.
[3] Vol. II., Chap. II.

French ecclesiastic who shared the same charitable desire of inducing the authorities of his Church to take a first step towards reunion by recognising English Orders. A scholar who was at the very time busily enlightening the Dutch had the arguments at his fingers' end, and on the 9th November, the Bishop's first public contribution to the debate was issued: *Trois lettres sur la position de l'Église Anglicane*, of which he wrote on his own copy, "the French of these letters is more courageous than accurate. . . . But the arguments, I think, are sound." It was but a slight sketch of the argument [1]; simultaneously there was published the learned *De Hierarchia Anglicana dissertatio apologetica* of Messrs. Denny and Lacey,[2] for which he wrote a preface in excellent Latin, pleading for charity and candour and expressing his confidence in the position of his own Church and his hope that the discussion might be a first step towards peace.

This is not the place to narrate the events which led up to the Papal bull of 1896. Lord Halifax has described them, and there is a whole literature on the subject. The Bishop of Salisbury has also said something of his own share in the matter in his contribution to Archbishop Temple's *Life*. There he tells us that it was Bishop Creighton who proposed to the Archbishop that they two, with the Bishops of Oxford and Salisbury, should draw up the necessary reply. The real work was done by the last, who at once threw himself into the task. He wrote to Bishop Creighton [3]:—

"I am glad to be associated with yourself and W. Oxon [4] in this responsible task.

[1] 22 pp. 8vo.

[2] London, 1895; preface dated 9th November, 1894.

[3] From the Chancery, Lincoln, 29th September, 1896.

[4] Bishop Stubbs' letters to Bishop Creighton on this occasion are printed (after extraction of the sting) in Archdeacon Hutton's *Letters of William Stubbs*, pp. 346 f.

"I only got your letter to-day and have had to spend the day in the train. I found my thoughts flowed best into a Latin reply addressed directly to the Pope; which I have written down roughly and without books of reference.

"I think we should take this Bull by the horns; if it is a Bull.

"I will send you my draft to-morrow—to-night I send you a short summary of it. I could stop on my way back to Sarum if you think it of any use. I thought of going on from here on Friday. I could come for Thursday or Friday night or for an hour or two *en route*. Let me hear here."

The draft composed in the train is as follows. The lacunae can be supplied from the printed reply:—

"DRAFT OF ANSWER TO POPE'S LETTER *Apostolicae curae*.

"Great responsibility taken on himself by the Pope.

"It is not fitting a Christian Bishop should act in this way.

"We are not disturbed by his decision, except with sorrow that he has missed so great an opportunity and has been deceived by his own persuasion of infallibility to act contrary to Christian prudence and ecclesiastical comity.

"Our Lord's law of Matt. xviii. 15, binding on him as on all Christians, to give those against whom offence is taken an opportunity of replying to censure.

"But love constrains us to reply (notwithstanding the threat that those who do so will not be heard); and our duty to our flocks as Bishops.

"Discussion of the letter.

"He has done well to narrow the controversy by throwing over Eugenius IV. and the fallacy about Parker, and neglecting Barlow.

"Hope we shall hear no more of all that.

"His letter turns on two points, the *praxis curiae* and the Anglican form, with the subordinate question of intention.

"He apparently feels somewhat doubtful about the XVIth century *praxis*. [This I leave to others to treat in detail.]

"He rests more upon Clement XI. and Gordon, but that is weak because (1) Clement gives no particulars of defect of

form and intention. [Is not this so?] (2) Gordon asked to be reordained.

"He has therefore done well not to acquiesce simply in these precedents.

"Nor do we much differ on the principle that the matter and form of ordination are imposition of hands with suitable prayer, and that the intention of a Church (as distinct from an individual) is fair matter of inquiry.

"Of course we do not hold absolutely to the scholastic doctrine that each Sacrament has an absolutely certain matter and form. Only Baptism has: and for a good reason.

"Give instances of other Sacraments.

"What is his authority for a certain form in Orders?

"The *obiter dictum* [Is it so?] of the Council of Trent which he alone quotes would not be sufficient even if it were a text of Holy Scripture.

"His conclusion seems to be that the essence of the form for the priesthood is mention of the power to offer sacrifice, and for the episcopate some phrase about *summum sacerdotium* or pontifical dignity.

"Treat the latter first. African canon against use of the term *summum sacerdotium*, even of a primate.

"To us the name 'Bishop' suffices to describe what we mean. Explain what that is. [This should be guarded so as to conciliate, or at least not alienate, Presbyterians.]

"Meet his argument about the addition of the words 'for the office and work of a Bishop or Priest': (1) these words were added to correct Presbyterian misinterpretation; (2) Any doubt of our fathers as to the fulness of the formula could not invalidate it, if it were *per se* sufficient (the intention being otherwise clear). That it is sufficient is proved by the decision of Pope —— as to Ethiopic ordinations.

"This part of the letter is unfair. It leaves the reader to draw a conclusion which the Pope (knowing this decision) does not dare himself to formulate.

"His *second and principal argument* is that we have removed whatever most sets forth the dignity and office of the priesthood and what ought to be essentially there. [I have treated this in my letter to Abp. Gul, which perhaps you have. I have not got it with me.]

"This is a marvellous objection, and implies that the pastoral office and the power of the keys and of discipline, of which our Ordinal speaks so fully, are of no importance compared with the power of sacrificing; and practically of no importance at all.

"Quote Scripture [*e.g.* as in my sermon at Norwich Church Congress]. The Pope is glad enough to quote *Pasce oves meas*, etc., to support his pontifical claims when convenient, yet he treats this whole side of the priestly office as of no account.

"The reference to the power of sacrifice was cut out naturally with the dropping of the *traditio instrumentorum*.

"It is, however, *implied* in the commission to minister the Sacraments and in the Communion Office, as well as in the statement of English theologians from the beginning.

"Absence of any definite reference in old Sacramentaries, especially the Gelasian.

"*Thirdly*, as to intention. The preface to the Ordinal shows our intention to *continue* the three Orders as derived by perpetual succession from the Apostles.

"Summing up.

"We regret the Pope's decision, but accept it as a suggestion of Divine Providence to follow out our own line of duty in regard to the whole English-speaking race throughout the world.

"A few words for the benefit of outsiders.

"J. S.

"Michaelmas Day, 1896."

In less than a fortnight the *Responsio* was ready, substantially as it was published. On the 10th October Bishop Wordsworth was able to write to the Bishop of Peterborough:—

"I sent off my *tentamen* to the Archbishop at Hawarden yesterday in a registered envelope, so I hope he has it by this time. My being at West Lulworth (where we have a charming rough cottage) has in some ways delayed my doing so, though in some ways expedited it, as I had three clear days to revise and copy it. I have kept a rough copy and sent him a

smoother one. It would have been a great misfortune to send him a piece of work which, as I found on re-reading, was full of holes. Even now I find points which must certainly be added, *e.g.* from the decrees of Trent putting the power of remission of sins on an equality with the offering of sacrifice. Yet the Pope says we have cut out *quidquid dignitatem sacerdotii plane designat*. Of course if you emphasise the *prayers* this is so. But there is nothing about either sacrifice or remission of sins in the Pontifical of the VIIth century used, I suppose, by St. Gregory. Augustine, I imagine, was consecrated by Gallican rites which were (and became more so) very different from the severe simplicity of the old Roman. My task has been, I think, specially to work out this point.

"Canon Carter writes that he is distressed by what I have said about Presbyterians. The words 'ulterior consequences' were perhaps misjudged; but I mean, of course, on Catholic lines."

The history of the *Responsio*, published in four languages and in some 13,000 copies, is given by the Bishop in the *Life* of Archbishop Temple. The profits, granted to the author by the Archbishops, amounted to more than £225, almost all in 1897 (publication began on the 9th March) and 1898. They were devoted to the foreign work of the Church. On his own copy the Bishop has written :—

"The Latin of the *Responsio* is the original. The English was, to a considerable extent, the work of Hugh Fraser Stewart, Vice-Principal of Sarum Theological College,[1] but constantly revised by myself. The whole of the *Responsio* was written by my pen;[2] but certain crucial passages were much discussed both in committee (with the Archbishop of

[1] Now Dean of St. John's College, Cambridge.

[2] "It was said that when the Pope read a Latin letter of the Bishop's he uttered the wish that his Cardinals could write Latin as well." So said the Bishop of Winchester in his Funeral Sermon on Bishop Wordsworth (Salisbury *Diocesan Gazette*, 1911, p. 159). The story was widely circulated; I cannot trace its origin. Dr. Talbot is sufficient authority for its insertion here.

York and the Bishops of Peterborough (*i.e.* London) and Oxford [1]) and privately with the Archbishop (Temple) of Canterbury. I also had communications with my brother, Father Puller of Cowley, Dr. Bright, Mr. Brightman, and W. H. Frere on points on which they were specially authoritative. Chapters XI. and XIX. were the most difficult to formulate. The Archbishop paid special attention to gentleness and equitableness of style (ἐπιείκεια), and to him the *Responsio* owes much of its force in this respect.

"Several faults of style in the Latin were pointed out (with very little gentleness) by a Belgian Professor whose name I forget. But they were not real faults with one exception, in which the Archbishop, however, thought there was no fault, viz. p. 9, line 13 from the bottom, where in later editions we added *errores;* the grammars say *quos*, referring to a masculine and feminine impersonal antecedent, should be *quae*. The other points censured were. . . . These are only faults to a man who does not know Latin as it is in books, and takes his ideas solely from grammars or oral teachers of narrow experience."

The appearance of Archbishop Maclagan was due, it is almost needless to say, to the death of Archbishop Benson at Hawarden on the 11th October, 1896. He had not lived to open the registered packet containing the draft of the *Responsio*, and his death caused the delay of publication till the 9th March, 1897. The reply was again published in the English version, with some prefatory matter, in 1912, after Bishop Wordsworth's death. On the disputed question whether the failure of the effort for peace was due to unreadiness, on one side or the other, to seize a providential opportunity, the Bishop agreed with Archbishop Benson that the Pope was at fault. And it must be noted, as regards the method of the debate, that it was no discursive search for truth, but an attempt, sincerely and successfully made, to show that the Roman

[1] Maclagan, Creighton, and Stubbs.

reasoners, their own premisses being accepted, were in the wrong.

An opportunity for attempting reunion in another quarter had already arisen. Bishop Charles Wordsworth, of St. Andrews, had died in 1892, and his nephew, the Bishop of Salisbury, had been asked to complete his memoirs. The good old Bishop had devoted two ample volumes to his own experiences down to 1856, and it was a somewhat desperate venture to dedicate a third to what had not been a very eventful life. But the nephew took up the task as an effort for union quite as much as in the interests of biography. Home reunion was a topic which he had long taken seriously. Among the "Agenda σὺν Θεῷ" of 1885[1] had been: "To prepare for either issue as to the establishment. If it remains, to make it a lever for union with foreign Churches, Old Catholics, etc.; if abolished, to establish Home reunion." Mrs. Wordsworth's illness and his own subsequent ill-health and journey to the Antipodes postponed the work, but he began to arrange the formidable mass of material before the end of 1895. He took it very seriously. He made great efforts to "localise" forty-nine pamphlets, many of them anonymous, that had been published in a furious Eucharistic controversy in the Episcopal Church of Scotland during 1858 and 1859, and this was typical of his thoroughness. The seriousness of the questions under debate gave importance in his eyes to faded fly-sheets and forgotten speeches. It was all living and present to him; perhaps he did not succeed in giving it a vivid interest for his own readers. At any rate the book, published in 1899, is a model of conscientious industry and a mine of information hardly accessible elsewhere. There was gain, as well as loss; undoubtedly the Vulgate suffered by this absorption.

[1] See p. 160.

Among the new friends whom the Bishop acquired through this undertaking were Professor Cooper, of Glasgow, and Bishop Dowden, of Edinburgh, with whom he formed a close alliance: they had many interests in common. To this Bishop he wrote, when his plan was taking shape [1]:—

"I am going to write my uncle's memoir and shall make it more a review of the different controversies and subjects in which he was interested than a personal book. This has led me already to treat the question of the validity of Presbyterian orders, which has interested me more than I expected —and to give some account of his three sermons on Holy Communion, which are worthy, I think, of more notice than they have received. I shall have to go more, no doubt, into later phases of Eucharistic controversy, and also into the question of ordination. But this will be, though difficult and dangerous ground, not unuseful. *Incedere per ignes* may be an ordeal good for myself as for the spectators."

And a little later to the same [2]:—

"I hope to come to Scotland for a few days just after the middle of September. . . . I want specially to see any leading Presbyterians who may have ideas on reunion. Of course my idea is to find out how they regarded my uncle's work—not to propose schemes of a practical nature, which your Bishops may some day, perhaps, see their way to do."

Disappointment at the Pope's conduct was a further spur to zeal in the interest of union at home. The Bishop took the diocese into his confidence, told it that he was engaged on his uncle's life, and proceeded [3]:—

"The decisive utterance of the Pope on Anglican Orders, which is in one sense a distressing rebuff for all who have laboured for a future unity of Christendom, and which seems to me a misuse of the fairest opportunity that a man has ever

[1] 27th June, 1896. [2] 29th August, 1896.
[3] *Diocesan Gazette*, 1896, p. 220.

had since the sixteenth century for promoting that unity, has in other respects its good side. It sets us free to do the work that lies nearest to hand without so much regard to ulterior consequences. We are free to follow out the path opened to us by Divine Providence to create an independent and worldwide communion, and in that effort we are bound, I think, first of all to consider the Established Church of Scotland."

A little later [1]:—

"I have suggested a conference between leading men of our Church and leading Presbyterians for the purpose of drafting a common Catechism on the fundamentals of the faith . . . not in any way to substitute something for our own Church Catechism where it can be used, but where it cannot. My main object is to influence education in the Colonies, where the foundation of the faith is often not taught at all in elementary schools. My second object is to supply something which may be taught in Board Schools, with a reasonable prospect of being acceptable without infringing the Act of 1870."

Such interdenominational Catechisms were in vogue at the time. More than one was printed, but the Bishop did not add to the number, nor does the projected conference seem to have taken place. But his increased familiarity with the Presbyterian point of view, and further study which bore fruit in his *Ministry of Grace* in 1901, led to a certain modification of his theories concerning the growth of the ministry. Thus he writes to Bishop Wallis [2]:—

"I hope you will agree with my sketch of the rise of the monarchical episcopate. I find some of the Welsh clergy [3] had been accustomed to knock down their opponents by telling them that the episcopate was instituted by our Lord in the

[1] *Diocesan Gazette*, p. 236, 24th October, 1896.
[2] 12th September, 1901.
[3] The Bishop had just been giving some lectures at Lampeter.

great forty days, and they do not at all like being deprived of so cogent an argument. They were rather ready to take the line that, if what I said was true, there was no harm in being a Dissenter—but it was probably untrue, and I was therefore more or less heretical. So we must be careful of offending weak brethren. Of course we really do not know what St. John may have taught, but I cannot think that St. Peter or St. Paul would have disagreed with my chapter, judging by Clement's reference to their teaching in the Epistle to the Corinthians, § 44, and his own usage, especially in the chapter just preceding.

"I hope you will study further the whole subject, and consider what doubts and difficulties may be created on our own side: *e.g.* how would you answer (1) the obvious objection that the Presbyterians have possessed a succession of the one order? (2) that, if there is any development possible in such a matter, we have no right to limit its period, and the dissenting ministry may be a development, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, suitable to the times in which we live? It brings in (they may say) a greater variety of service, poorer men are admissible to it, it is less worldly and compromising, etc., etc. The second seems a more difficult topic to treat than the first, though I suppose we should answer, there was a distinct period of development, answering to the charismatic period to which I have referred.[1] This was in some places longer and in some shorter, just as some people's faith grew quicker than that of others even in the human ministry of our Lord, but it was practically over by A.D. 200–250.

"It seems to me providential that the monarchical episcopate grew slowly at Rome. Had it not done so, we should have had great difficulty in meeting papal claims. What would have happened had Ignatius written in his usual style about a Bishop of Rome? We should never have heard the last of it.

"It is also a great blessing not to be obliged to treat Dissenters as disobedient to a command or revelation of our Lord. To them we apply His words, 'He that is not against us is for us,' and dare not apply the others, 'He that is not with me is against me.'"

[1] *Ministry of Grace*, ed. i., pp. 146–148.

And a little later he replied to a critic of the *Ministry of Grace* [1]:—

"My view of the relation of the Episcopate to the Presbyterate is that in the East, *e.g.* Jerusalem, Antioch, Asia Minor, the ministry was established in three orders in the lifetime of St. John; that in the West, *e.g.* Rome, Corinth, Alexandria, there were at first two orders, but the superior order, the Presbyterium, always had a President, or Presidents, and that these were the predecessors of the Bishops of those sees. As regards the necessity of the Episcopate as the normal form of Church government, I expressly say on p. 124, after describing the threefold need which led to the monarchical or independent authority assigned to Bishops in the West: 'In all this we are to see the hand of God, gradually building up an institution necessary for His Church.' The only way, I think, in which my point of view differs from that which has usually been held from the time of Archbishop Bancroft in the Church of England is that the division of the ministry in every part of the Catholic Church into three orders does not rest on the same fundamental order, so to call it, as the acceptance of the Bible, the Creed, of the Sunday and of the two Sacraments. [See Preface, p. vi.] We can, therefore, treat Presbyterians as less wilfully in the wrong, and tolerate, if need be, a return to a less monarchical form of episcopacy in some countries. Other consequences might follow if any widespread movement for reunion were to become popular. My object has been to exhibit the facts of early Church history with absolute impartiality. The conclusions stated above are the result of long study, and I was certainly not prejudiced in favour of the view which I have now adopted, but rather against it. If it is wrong, I shall welcome better knowledge from whatever quarter it comes."

And finally one of the Bishop's latest sermons, preached in the Cathedral on the 5th February, 1911, may be cited in this context:—

"The value of such episcopal oversight of the clergy as the two great Apostles exercised could not be missed or forgotten.

[1] 8th February, 1902.

It was not for one age only, but for all time. It was almost a necessity for unity of faith, for unity and continuity of order and practice, for discipline of persons. But, on the other hand, these same Apostles were conscious that their office was not of a different kind from that of the other clergy. St. Peter speaks as a fellow-presbyter to other fellow-presbyters. St. Paul, as I have said, refers to their choice by the Holy Ghost. . . . If, then, we are to speak of a doctrine of Apostolical succession, it must include both Bishops and Presbyters as partakers in it. Their office is fundamentally the same, whether it be called a sacerdotium or priesthood, a presbyterate or eldership, or a ministry of the word and sacraments. It is in both cases as really concerned with the great duty of feeding and of tending the Church of God. It is equally a ministry to which the call comes from the Holy Ghost, both within and without, and to which the commission is given by those who have held like office before—and thus both Bishops and Presbyters are successors of the Apostles. I believe this inference from Scripture and Church history is becoming increasingly clear—so clear that some of you younger students of theology may perhaps think it a commonplace. We shall not then, I think, be right in trying to conciliate those who differ from us in polity by denying the reality of Apostolical succession, but by extending it in the direction in which the Apostles seem to extend it. We must also surely let this widening of our theory have its influence upon our practice."

This interest in Presbyterian Orders led the Bishop to the discussion in his learned *Ordination Problems* [1] of the question of reordination. He reviewed in it the erudite work *Les Réordinations* of the Abbé Saltet,[2] and adds modern instances, especially the episcopal consecration of Scottish ministers in 1610 and 1661, to his medieval precedents, ending with practical suggestions for the application of the principle he has deduced to the case of Scotland to-day. There were other cases, which cannot be publicly named, in which he was hopeful that these

[1] London, S.P.C.K., 1909. [2] Paris, 1907.

examples might be followed with success. But in regard to the general question of the development of the ministry it is unfortunate that the Bishop has never discussed the recent developments of thought. In particular, he has ignored, like other Englishmen, Dr. Rudolf Sohm's important *Kirchenrecht.*

His last effort in the cause of the union of Christendom, that with which he, among others, was charged by the Lambeth Conference in regard to the Church of Sweden, has been so fully narrated in the official report [1] and elsewhere that it may be omitted here. On its personal side the Bishop's intercourse with his Swedish friends is described in the last chapter of this book. His final judgment on their Church was that it—

"may claim to be an integral part of Catholic Christendom in any restoration of Church unity on other lines than those of simple subservience to Rome. With a very different history, it has arrived at a position very like our own."

To no part of Christendom was the Bishop more closely drawn, by historical and also by inherited sympathy, than the ancient Churches of the East. Almost the last sermon that he preached was at the consecration of his friend and chaplain, Dr. H. J. C. Knight, to the see of Gibraltar. Addressing him, he said[2]:—

"The old Churches amongst which your work lies are full of wounds and sorrows, of vague movements, desires and impulses. You will know how you can best minister to their wants. We are not called to active propagation of reforms, for the leverage of which we have no sufficient fulcrum, and which we have no power of overseeing and directing; we are not called to make converts to our own communion, though

[1] *The Church of England and the Church of Sweden.* Report of the Commission appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. London, Mowbray, 1911.

[2] 25th July, 1911, in St. Paul's Cathedral.

to many a poor soul it may be a self-sought haven of rest. We are called to maintain a high and strict standard of Church life and Christian conduct among our scattered congregations, to make known our principles and to exhibit them in action, and to show helpfulness and sympathy to all who are willing to accept our help. Anglican sobriety, without Anglican stiffness and reserve, nay, rather with a Christlike longing to be of service to all good men and all good causes, is the temper which I know you will strive to promote, and which your wonderful opportunities will give you scope to make effective for the realisation of the Kingdom of God."

Much of Bishop Wordsworth's work in regard to Eastern Churches does not lend itself to narration. It was often confidential, and in the course of it he acquired an extraordinary wealth of knowledge, and also a sympathy, which sometimes took the form of tolerance, for the officers of Churches which had endured so much. Some of his experiences were strange. Wishing to please one remote prelate he attached an impression of his signet-ring to a letter of introduction given to a clergyman who was visiting his region. The dignitary was wounded; there must be an occult reason why the seal was not larger, and that reason must be a purposed affront to himself. Such misunderstandings taught our Bishop to be tender to the self-consciousness of the Oriental Christian, and to recognise his want of the sense of humour. He had occasion also to guide the agents, often travelling at their own charges, who were commissioned, more or less officially, to approach these Easterns. To one young clergyman he gave the counsel:—

"Please write to . . . to tell him what has happened, saying as little about *myself* and *yourself* as possible. In these matters we must keep self as much as possible in the background and the general interests of the Church in the foreground."

His efforts were not without success, real though it cannot be registered in precise terms, in drawing the Churches together. This was in part due to his discountenancing the attempt to make proselytes and his unwillingness to approve the reception of such as offered themselves. He rejoiced when his cousin, Mr. H. C. Frere, Chaplain at Beyrout and Archdeacon in Syria,[1] induced a discontented body of Greek Christians to return to their allegiance; but when a body of members of the Roman communion was wavering towards the Greeks, not without a certain willingness to join the English Church if some encouragement were shown them, he wrote:—

"It seems a very good opportunity of gaining reasonable influence, even if we do not accept the whole congregation permanently. . . . As regards ritual, I should not desire an acceptance of the Anglican, but a purgation of the native Syro-Arabic, which might in time to come be accepted by the rest of the Maronites. And as regards dogma, I think a rejection of the decrees of Trent and of anything imposed by Rome since 1182 would suffice."

Nothing came of this, and there is no reason to think that the Bishop was sorry. His interest extended to the separated Churches of the East, of whose doctrinal isolation, caused as it has been by historical circumstances of ancient date, he was a very benevolent interpreter. He took part in discussions, necessarily private, which aimed at the formulation of terms by which the orthodoxy of some of them, of which he was assured, might be made technically as well as substantially manifest. And he was always ready to defend them in cases of need, as when he denied[2] a rumour, which he traced to an attempt to induce the Christians of Malabar to accept the Papal supremacy, that his "venerable friend" the Jacobite

[1] 1901–1906. [2] The *Times*, 18th January, 1909.

Syrian Patriarch Mar Ignatius Abdallah II. had joined the Church of England.

He made two literary efforts to spread a knowledge of the English Church in the East. Cyprus was a country in which he was deeply interested, striving behind the scenes to settle its ecclesiastical disputes and protesting in public against the financial burdens which England has laid upon it. For Cypriote use he procured the translation into modern Greek of his additions to the Church Catechism.[1] As early as 1889 he wrote to Archbishop Benson[2]: "I propose consultation about a manual of Anglican Church matters for foreign inquirers." In 1900 it appeared as "Some points in the teaching of the Church of England, set for the information of Orthodox Christians of the East in the form of an answer to questions." The Bishop was the chief but not the sole author. The little book bore the imprimatur: "Approved. F. Cantuar, 27th June, 1900." It was translated into Greek, Russian, Italian, and Arabic.[3] Direct results from these varied efforts were hardly to be expected. But they have certainly diffused a spirit of mutual understanding and good will, of which there have been from time to time such tokens as the blessing given in Greek, one Sunday in 1889, by the Archbishop of Cyprus to the congregation of Salisbury Cathedral.

This chapter may end with the memories of a learned Frenchman, Monsieur Alexis Larpent, who was a fellow-worker with the Bishop in some of his efforts for the union of Christendom[4]:—

"Souvent l'Archevêque de Canterbury m'avait parlé

[1] See *Bibliography*. Κατήχησις ἐκδοθεῖσα ἐν τῇ διοικήσει τῆς Σαλισβουρίας . . . ἐν Λευκωσίᾳ. 1899. Translated by the Rev. H. T. F. Duckworth.

[2] 24th January, 1889.

[3] See *Bibliography*.

[4] M. Larpent, whose position may be defined as having been that of the old Gallicans, for some years lived in England, assisting

de son ami le Dr. John Wordsworth. A Addington j'avais remarqué une photographie des Benson et des Wordsworth réunis comme s'ils formaient une seule famille. L'Archevêque avait écrit le mot *ὁμοθυμαδόν* au dessous du groupe. Au British Museum je demandais de temps en temps les œuvres de John Sarum et celles de son père Christopher Lincoln. Je me préparais à une rencontre que je désirais et pressentais. Un jour, pendant le printemps de 1895 j'arrivai à Lambeth avec mon paquet d'épreuves corrigées.—'Non,' me dit l'historien de St. Cyprien, 'nous ne ferons rien aujourd'hui ; allez dans la salle à manger ; l'Évêque de Salisbury vous attend.' L'accueil fut cordial mais sans formalités ni préambule.—'Si vous voulez, nous allons lire ensemble les notes que vous avez envoyées à Sa Grâce sur le manuscrit de St. Cyprien prêté par Lord Crawford. Léopold Delisle a vu le codex, je l'ai étudié aussi et l'accord n'est pas fait sur la date. . . .' Mon tour vint ensuite de dire ce que j'avais cru voir ou deviner et de justifier mes opinions. Je me sentais petit et novice en présence d'un pareil maître, mais je prenais confiance en regardant la tête pensive qui était devant moi. Il savait écouter. Il était désireux de donner toutes les chances possibles à celui qui l'interrogeait. Il charmait par son attention. La conversation technique dura assez longtemps. Lorsque les points relatifs à l'âge, à l'écriture et à quelques leçons du document furent discutés, l'Évêque tira un calendrier et un stylographe de sa poche. 'Je rendrai compte à Sa Grâce de notre entrevue. . . . Pouvez vous venir passer quelques jours à Salisbury la semaine prochaine ?' Voilà quel fut le premier contact.

" Je ne suis jamais allé au vieux palais sans quelque raison : études spéciales, recherches, vérifications ; mais l'affection était née, et le travail poursuivi sous une direction stimulante était un bienfait. Quand l'Évêque pouvait s'arracher à ses occupations, il était le plus intéressant des compagnons. Je me rappelle une promenade à Bemerton et une visite à la petite église. Ce jour-là l'homme généralement absorbé se

Archbishop Benson in scholarly work, especially in regard to St. Cyprian, and also in confidential correspondence with many foreign Churches. He is now in France, and a member of the French Church, but entirely, so he writes, outside controversy.

révéla avec un esprit frais et vivace d'un jeune étudiant. Quelle mémoire il avait ; comme les citations coulaient naturellement de ses lèvres ; quels gracieux souvenirs il évoquait ! Ces heures de longue détente étaient très-rares et pendant une période de onze ans je n'ai eu qu'une fois mon pélerinage à Bemerton.

" La mort de l'Archevêque nous prouva que la douleur est le plus puissant des liens. Des préoccupations nouvelles s'imposèrent. L'Évêque me fit lire la Réponse à la Bulle *Apostolicae Curae* avant la publication, et me communiqua aussi les épreuves du *Ministry of Grace*. Ceux qui ont consulté cet ouvrage savent quels trésors d'informations exactes sont accumulés dans les notes dont quelques unes ressemblent à des articles de dictionnaire. J'aurais voulu que ce livre fût complété par *The Means of Grace*. L'Évêque me promettait de faire cette seconde partie, mais tant de choses encombraient la route que le projet ne fut jamais réalisé. Il est regrettable que l'œuvre reste sans sa conclusion formelle. Nul n'était plus capable que l'auteur de donner l'idée exacte des doctrines sacramentaires de l'Église Chrétienne. Son érudition était sûre et sa critique était délicate.

" L'Évêque me proposa d'être secrétaire de l' *Anglo-Continental Society* [1] et de l' *Association for the furtherance of Christianity in Egypt*. Les deux corporations furent réunies sous le nom d' *Anglican and Foreign Church Society*. Il s'agissait surtout de faire connaître l'Église Anglicane, car elle est une terre incertaine pour ceux qui n'ont pas mis les pieds sur un sol Britannique. L'occasion se présenta bientôt de publier un tract important. Les rapports entre les Grecs de Jérusalem et le Dr. Blyth, Évêque Anglican dans cette ville, étaient excellents. Le prélat Anglais avait même eu le mérite de ramener la concorde dans une église orthodoxe

[1] The early history of this society is mentioned on p. 93. It will suffice to refer for details to Mr. Meyrick's *Memoirs of Life at Oxford and Elsewhere* (London, Murray, 1905). The title was changed to " Anglican and Foreign Church Society " in 1904, when the Egyptian Society was amalgamated with it. Its annual report is still the best source by far from which Englishmen may gain accurate and sympathetic information about ecclesiastical movements abroad.

déchirée par les discordes intestines. A Alexandrie, le Patriarche manifestait une vive sympathie aux clergymen qui s'approchaient de lui. A Constantinople le Patriarche Œcuménique était aussi très favorable. Cependant ces personnages n'avaient que des notions vagues et confuses sur l'Église d'Angleterre qu'ils considéraient comme une secte protestante, moins hérétique peut-être que les autres, mais sans traditions historiques. L'Évêque fit un opuscule, que M. J. Gennadius traduisit en grec, sur quelques points de doctrine pour montrer que l'enseignement dogmatique de son Église est conforme à l'orthodoxie. C'était le vrai moyen d'éclairer les théologiens des pays des Patriarchats. Il est inutile d'offrir de gros livres et des traités systématiques. La pensée occidentale reste encore et restera suspecte à ceux qui quelquefois ne lisent rien en dehors de leurs livres sacrés. Pour se rendre compte de cet état de stagnation il suffit de jeter les yeux sur le Nouveau Testament publié par autorité du Patriarche de Constantinople. Les collations de manuscrits faites par les éditeurs modernes sont ignorées et le livre est compilé d'après les codices inférieurs. Ces Grecs sont nos ancêtres dans la Foi. Nous vénérons leurs saints. Nous cherchons notre inspiration dans les œuvres de leurs docteurs. Leurs liturgies nourrissent notre piété. Sommes-nous destinés à vivre toujours loin les uns des autres ? Ne pouvons-nous pas nous comprendre et nous réconcilier ? Ces pensées revenaient constamment dans les entretiens de l'Évêque. Il voulait non seulement déchirer les voiles qui cachent l'Église Anglicane, mais aider les Grecs à sortir de la routine dans laquelle ils se traînent depuis tant de siècles.

La situation des Coptes est encore plus pathétique. Nous désirions que les Anglais comprissent leurs responsabilités et nous aidassent à répandre l'instruction dans cette terre d'Égypte soumise à leur influence. Les appels adressés a nos amis et à nos souscripteurs ne donnèrent pas les ressources nécessaires aux campagnes dont nous avions fait les plans. Le Tract sur les points de doctrine fut traduit en Arabe. Les Coptes instruits écoutèrent avec satisfaction quelques conférences, mais aucun résultat important n'a encore été obtenu. A Londres, nous célébrions tous les ans un service d'intercession auquel nous invitions les membres de notre Société.

L'Évêque avait choisi les prières, et, guidé par son amour de l'unité chrétienne, il avait inséré la collecte du Missel Romain pour la vigile de la fête des Saints Apôtres Pierre et Paul. En voici le texte latin que je mets ici comme témoignage de Foi commune, avec l'espoir du 'Salut Commun,' et pour prier encore avec celui que j'ai aimé: 'Praesta, quaesumus, Omnipotens Deus: ut nullis nos permittas perturbationibus concuti, quos in apostolicae confessionis petra solidasti. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.'

"Ces désirs de réunion ont quelquefois été appréciés par les représentants des autres Églises. En 1898 l'Évêque fit un voyage en Orient. Il alla voir le Patriarche Kyrillos, chef religieux des Coptes, au Caire, qui le reçut avec honneur et lui donna un manuscrit du service pour la 'Consécration d'une Église et d'un Autel' selon le rite Copte. Quelques années plus tard l'office fut édité à Londres par le Rev. G. Horner et un grand nombre d'exemplaires fut offert au Patriarche. A Jérusalem, l'Évêque consacra l'Église Cathédrale de St. Georges. Dans cette ville, comme dans les autres cités qu'il traversa, il fut traité comme un frère par les dignitaires orthodoxes. Ainsi se renouvelaient entre les Grecs et les Anglicans des courtoisies qui datent de l'époque de Cyrille Loukar. Ainsi les coreligionnaires de l'Archevêque Lykourgos rendaient au fils de l'Évêque de Lincoln les aménités de Riseholme.[1]

"Il était du reste impossible à l'Évêque de refuser sa sympathie aux hommes voués au service de Dieu. Séparé de l'Église Romaine par ses convictions délibérées, il était heureux de rendre justice et service aux membres de cette communion. A la fin de la réponse à la bulle *Apostolicae Curae*, on trouve un éloge des encycliques de Léon XIII. Les prélats romains L. Duchesne et P. Batiffol ont connu l'hospitalité du palais de Sarum. Après mon retour en France, en 1906, j'appelai plusieurs fois l'attention de l'Évêque sur les travaux des prêtres catholiques. Il donna son approbation à l'ouvrage de M. l'Abbé E. Mangenot sur la Résurrection de Notre Seigneur. M. E. Bodin, de la Congrégation de la Mission, ayant demandé la permission de se servir de certaines

[1] See p. 92.

notes de la Vulgate d'Oxford pour l'édition du Nouveau Testament Grec et Latin qu'il préparait, reçut immédiatement une réponse favorable.

" J'étais dans un coin du Berri lorsque j'appris la mort de l'ami vénéré qui avait tenu une si grande place dans ma vie . . . Μετὰ πνευμάτων δικαίων τετελειωμένων τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου Σῶτερ ἀνάπαυσον· φυλάττων αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν μακαρίαν ζωήν, τὴν παρὰ σοῦ, φιλάνθρωπε.[1]

" Je voudrais dire maintenant quelle fut, selon moi, une des qualités maîtresses de ce savant. Je crois ne pas me tromper en disant que l'originalité de l'Évêque consistait en sa prédilection constante pour les questions difficiles. Ses livres, ses articles, ses revues sont pleins de suggestions inattendues. Il évitait les sentiers battus, mais il n'était pas paradoxal, car les problèmes les plus ardus prenaient toujours pour lui un aspect pratique et moderne. Voici un exemple. Lorsque nous nous occupions de l'Égypte, l'Évêque me faisait remarquer que nous ne savions pas quelle est exactement la croyance des Coptes. ' Est-il juste de les accuser d'hérésie ? Sont-ils encore Monophysites au sens théorique attaché à cette expression ? Et les Arméniens ? Rejettent-ils réellement la foi qui nous est chère ? Et ces Assyriens, restes d'une communauté autrefois si ardente pour les missions Chrétiennes, sont-ils restés Nestoriens comme nous les appelons ? Il faut savoir si ces Orientaux se rendent compte des opinions que nous leur attribuons. Les textes des historiens et les décrets des Conciles ne nous suffisent plus.' Combien de fois ai-je été le confident de perplexités semblables ! C'est même, à mon avis, cette recherche des voies nouvelles qui donnait quelquefois à l'Évêque l'air un peu détaché de ce qui l'entourait. Il entendait les banalités sans impatience et jamais il ne perdait le fil d'une conversation, mais son esprit était en proie à un labeur que personne ne soupçonnait. Rien n'arrêtait l'activité d'une intelligence qui, au milieu des propos variés d'un salon ou pendant les discours plus ou moins élevés d'un meeting, fixait peut-être la date du Concile de

[1] " Give rest, O Saviour, to the soul of thy servant with the spirits of just men made perfect, keeping it unto the blessed life that is from thee, O Lover of men." From the Order for Burial in the Orthodox rite.

Sardica ou disposait un arrangement plus méthodique des Canons d'Hippolytus.

"Comme l'Archevêque Benson, l'Évêque John Wordsworth était prédestiné pour l'état ecclésiastique. En Orient, il serait devenu Patriarche ; à Rome, il aurait été la gloire du Sacré Collége : ἐγενήθη ἱερεύς, τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκώς." [1]

[1] "A priest, wearing the ephod." Polycrates, speaking of St. John the Divine, in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, v. 24, 3.

CHAPTER XIV

SWEDEN AND AMERICA—LAST MONTHS

THE last years of the Bishop's life, in which, to the very end, there was to be no diminution of activity, were marked by an increase of directly spiritual undertakings. Such were the "effort of united prayer" for the winter of 1905–1906, which he urged the diocese to make in a public letter, and the Convention of Communicants held at Salisbury in May, 1907. It was an impressive assembly. The Bishop presided, and during three days addresses were given by the Bishop of Oxford and other religious leaders. These were printed and published.[1] Similar measures for the promotion of personal religion were taken under various forms in the years that followed.

But the entrance into power of a Liberal Government in 1906 revived the controversy on elementary education, which had been asleep since 1902. There was no concealment of the fact that the Bishop did not belong to the Liberal Party, but hitherto, except in regard to Home Rule which he regarded as a subject transcending politics, he had made no attempt to influence political thought in his diocese. From 1906 onwards, happily or unhappily, he conspicuously supported his side, in speeches and public letters stating the reasons which, as he thought, ought to determine the vote of Wilts and Dorset. In regard to

[1] *The Christian Life.* Addresses. Salisbury, Brown, 1907. 58 pp. 8vo.

education he had no choice. The new Government at once undertook to remould the system. He had been hopeful that they would produce an acceptable scheme, for he was convinced that a method of satisfying all just claims could be found, and he recognised the equity of some of the demands that were being made. But when the Liberal plan appeared he was constrained to write [1] :—

"I am much cut down by Birrell's failure to produce (as most of us hoped) a reasonable Education Bill. It is clearly dictated, half of it by Dissenters and half by the Labour Party, and people threaten us, 'If you don't accept these terms you will have a purely secular system.' The Bill is really very much that already. It does away with all religious management, puts religious teaching outside regular school hours, and forbids regular teachers giving denominational teaching. In fact, we are on our way to be even as you are.[2] The indignation is very great, and if the Bill passes in anything like its present form, all hopes of friendly relations with Dissenters are at an end for many a year. I sometimes think that God intends His Church to shrink to a small body with a much more intense life. But I think I am too old to square myself to it."

This last anticipation was contrary to the Bishop's normal mode of thought; he liked to dwell on the diffused influence of Christianity.

He took his part in argument by delivering and publishing three lectures [3] on "The Place of Religion in Education," "Religious Liberty and the Law of Trusts," and "Practical Proposals." As was his wont, he went much deeper than the needs of the moment required; in particular, he discoursed learnedly on the influence of his predecessor in the fourteenth century, Bishop Waltham, on the development of the English law of trusts. He

[1] To Bishop Wallis, 20th April, 1906.
[2] *I.e.* in New Zealand.
[3] *The Education Question*. Salisbury, Bennett, 1906. 75 pp. 8vo.

also took an active part in the proceedings in Parliament. On the 2nd November he wrote to Bishop Wallis :—

"I have spent great part of the last fortnight in the House of Lords. I hope some of our work will stand. The first clause was enlarged to make it a condition that some portion of the school hours of every day must be set apart for religious instruction—we could not say 'Christian' because we wished to include Jews. We have passed other amendments fixing the time to at least a clear half-hour for our own teaching, and opening the schools which are at present our own to such teaching [1] daily, and making some improvement in rural schools. Lord Balfour of Burleigh delivered a fine speech in favour of universal facilities, but the Whig feeling on the Unionist side displayed by the Duke of Devonshire and Lord St. Aldwyn and Lord Jersey prevented us from carrying it; *i.e.* it was withdrawn for fear of being lost or carried only by a small majority. . . . I should not be quite surprised if after all the Bill were withdrawn and a simple Bill to relieve passive resisters substituted for this year. I have got an amendment (for Monday) to keep alive Voluntary Schools Associations as Associations of Managers. I don't see how or why the Government can oppose it, but I am afraid they will."

The clause of which he speaks was actually accepted by Lord Crewe and passed by the Lords on the 3rd December; but the Bill came to nothing. Of an equally unsuccessful Bill two years later he writes to the same friend, Bishop Wallis [2] :—

"There is little, I suppose, since you left except the throwing out of the Licensing Bill by the Lords (though about nineteen Bishops voted for the second reading) and the withdrawal of the Education Bill—an event of which I am credited with being the author, though by others scouted as a traitor to the sacred cause. Of course, Runciman and Asquith took up my amendments (not proposed or debated, but simply

[1] *I.e.* by Nonconformists. [2] 31st December, 1908.

tabled) at the Representative Church Council as an excuse for dropping what they could not get Dissenters and (I fear) teachers to agree to. However, some progress has been made towards a settlement on a reasonable basis."

After this time education, as far as the Bishop is concerned, falls into the background, and the acceptable solution of the problem has not yet been discovered. Of practical difficulty there had been none in his diocese; in no part of England was there so little "passive resistance."

In 1907 he was convener of a sub-committee of the Upper House of the Canterbury Convocation, which was appointed to draw up a "Historical Memorandum on the Ornaments of the Church and its Ministers." This grew into a substantial pamphlet,[1] of which just half was composed by the Bishop. He wrote Chapter I., "Historical Sketch of the Origin, Development, and Symbolism of Liturgical Costume"; Chapter III., "The Ornaments of a Bishop in the Church of England"; and Appendix B, "Chronological List of Effigies of Anglican Bishops from A.D. 1547 to 1907." Of these, from Goodrich of Ely to Ridding of Southwell, he succeeded in discovering exactly a hundred. The whole report, in which he revised the parts he did not write, is a work of practical and antiquarian usefulness. In 1908 he received the honorary degree of LL.D. at Cambridge.[2]

[1] Westminster National Society, 1908. 120 pp. 8vo.

[2] The Public Orator, Dr. (now Sir John) Sandys, presented him as follows: "Londinium linquimus; ruris remoti ad urbem episcopalem deinceps properamus, cuius a nomine quondam nuncupabatur vir quidam doctissimus, episcopus Carnotensis, Ioannes Saresburiensis. Ioannem Saresburiensem alterum, episcopum doctissimum, hodie iubemus salvere, qui ordinum sacrorum Anglicanorum validitatem oratione Latina quondam eruditissime defendit, ecclesiae Christianae in historia exploranda Ennii olim sui laudatione non indignus:—'multa tenens antiqua sepulta.' Idem abhinc annos plus quam viginti Testamenti Novi Latinam editionem Hieronymianam edendam sumpsit, partemque

At this point it will be well to mention his guidance of the efforts for the spiritual and moral welfare of the soldiers, whose settlements on Salisbury Plain and, on a smaller scale, on the heaths of South Dorset, have done much to change the character of the diocese. Successive Governments have not been generous, though they have relieved voluntary subscribers, who were Churchmen, of the cost of maintaining the soldiers' institutes, after these, founded at the cost of the benevolent, had proved their usefulness. But the work of church building has fallen, in the main, on the diocese of Salisbury, and the erection of St. Michael's Church at Tidworth was Bishop Wordsworth's last exertion in that kind. Since his death it has been completed in his memory. The life of the soldier, ideally regarded, with its discipline and its self-surrender, was one after his heart.

In the summer of 1908 came the Pan-Anglican Congress in which the Bishop took part. He wrote about it to a cousin [1]:—

"The Pan-Anglican Congress was really helpful and impressive. There was something to criticise as to the defect of previous introduction to speakers, so as to make them keep to the prescribed subjects and make them work in to one another. But all the other details were well arranged. The meetings in the Albert Hall and in St. Paul's were extraordinarily impressive, and the general tone and kindliness of the speaking very delightful. An absence of the sense of sin was, I think, observable; but no undue magniloquence as to the Anglican Communion. In fact, we realised its

priorem postea felicibus auspiciis Victoriae Reginae dedicavit, opere in tanto adornando etiam Bentleii et aliorum philologorum nostrorum laboribus diligenter usus.

"Duco ad vos dominum admodum reverendum, IOANNEM WORDSWORTH, alumnorum nostrorum illustrium et filium et nepotem, Collegii sui inter Oxonienses quondam socium insignem, episcopum Saresburiensem." (*Orationes et Epistolae Cantabrigienses*, p. 221.) Dublin had given him the LL.D. degree in 1890.

[1] Sister Charlotte (Wordsworth), 28th June, 1908.

smallness rather than its greatness. Our diocese, thank God, did well in the money thankoffering; more than 5½*d*. per head of the total population. I doubt if any other did so well in proportion."

The Congress was followed by the Lambeth Conference. In it he was appointed convener of a committee of fifty-seven Bishops on "Reunion and Intercommunion." Of seven sub-committees which it formed to carry out its task he was convener of three, those on the Scandinavians, the Presbyterians, and on "General Questions." The work was laborious, and must have needed tact as well as industry. The Bishop's fitness for the second and third of these inquiries is obvious; the first was not new to him, and it was to be the chief employment of his last years. The Church of Sweden had already attracted attention in England. There had been courteous approaches on both sides, and a constitutional experiment had been made in Sweden which furnished an instructive example of what might be possible in England. In 1863 the authority of the State over the Church, which is general in Lutheran countries, had been surrendered. The Church, retaining its endowments and its national position, became self-governing. A Church Council, consisting of sixty members, half clerical and half lay, is the governing body. The twelve Bishops are officially members, and the Archbishop of Upsala is president. The other clerical members and all the laymen are elected. The Bishop of Salisbury had not stood alone in drawing public attention to this scheme, as he had done in 1902. But there was a further reason for English interest. While the three Scandinavian Churches are equally Episcopal, only one has retained the ancient succession of its Bishops. In Sweden the Bishops derive their orders from Petrus Magni, who had been confirmed and consecrated at Rome in 1524 by the authority of Clement VII., and afterwards

took part in introducing into his country the Lutheran reformation. If the episcopate has been continuous, its maintenance has been due quite as much to constitutional as to theological considerations, and the Swedish Bishops have recognised those of Norway and Denmark as equally authoritative with themselves. And in general, though the Swedish Church has marked characteristics and a history peculiar to itself, it has never disclaimed fellowship with other Lutheran communions and its theology has been coloured by that of Germany, for Swedish students have in large numbers resorted to the German Universities.

The Primate of this Church, the Archbishop of Upsala, sent a Latin letter of greeting to the Lambeth Conference of 1908 by the hands of the Bishop of Kalmar, Dr. H. W. Tottie, himself of English descent. Bishop Tottie was received by the Conference, and is the only speaker, not an Anglican Bishop, who has ever addressed it in full session. Thus the subject of the Swedish Church came prominently before the Conference, and it was necessary that some public step should be taken. It was not enough that a Committee (necessarily in private) should examine witnesses, the Bishop of Kalmar and others. Though important evidence, which served as the starting-point of further inquiries, was collected, the Conference determined that there must be a public and formal exchange of information. Its 74th resolution was :—

"This Conference heartily thanks the Archbishop of Upsala for his letter of friendly greeting, and for sending his honoured colleague, the Bishop of Kalmar, to confer with its members on the establishment of an alliance of some sort between the Swedish and Anglican Churches. The Conference respectfully desires the Archbishop of Canterbury to appoint a Commission to correspond further with the Swedish Church through the Archbishop of Upsala on the possibility and conditions of such an alliance."

Of this Commission the Bishop of Salisbury doubtless anticipated that he would be a member. He was already engaged in mastering Swedish Church history, and was doing his best to awaken public interest in England and to show the Swedes that English feeling toward them was warm. In July, 1908, the Bishop of Kalmar came to Salisbury and addressed a meeting at the Palace on the past services of England to his country. He told how Siegfrid of York, about the year 1000, had settled as a missionary in Sweden and founded the see of Wexiö.[1] In September he was followed by Professor Söderblom, now Archbishop of Upsala in succession to Dr. Ekman, who had written the letter to the Lambeth Conference.

The Commission was appointed in March, 1909, and none of its members can have been more active than the Bishop of Salisbury.[2] After meetings in England, and the accumulation of further knowledge, the party proceeded to Sweden in the autumn of 1909.[3] They were

[1] Bishop Wordsworth's youngest child, born on St. Andrew's Day, 1910, was christened Andrew Siegfrid.

[2] The Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Ryle) was chairman. The others, beside the Bishop of Salisbury, were Bishop Mott Williams, of Marquette, U.S.A., Dr. A. J. Mason, Canon of Canterbury, and then also Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University and Master of Pembroke College, and Chancellor E. R. Bernard of Salisbury Cathedral. Dr. Ingram, the Bishop of London, was appointed, but did not act. The report of the Commission, dated 25th January, 1911, was published in that year under the title *The Church of England and the Church of Sweden*. London: Mowbray.

[3] The share of the Bishop in the visit to Germany paid by a number of clergy and other representatives of various religious bodies in the summer of 1909 deserves notice. The party went in the interest of national good will, and were most heartily welcomed. The Bishop, among others, was received by the German Emperor; they had already met and conversed at Jerusalem in 1898, when a great German Church was being consecrated at the same time as the English Cathedral of St. George. At one of the meetings at Berlin, on the 13th June, the Bishop gave addresses both in German and English. He was deeply impressed by the great institutions for the epileptic and afflicted founded by Pastor Bodelschwingh at Bielefeld.

accompanied by ladies, including Mrs. Wordsworth, and were everywhere welcomed. They entered the Scandinavian countries at Copenhagen, where on the 19th September, a luncheon was given in their honour, at which the Bishop spoke briefly, saying that their object was "an alliance against rationalism and Roman autocracy." In the evening he addressed a meeting of about two hundred :—

"I spoke about three-quarters of an hour slowly in English. After introduction I spoke of our Church as being like theirs as episcopal, liturgical, evangelical. I explained that with certain differences there was much similarity. I insisted on the value of Confirmation in our way as bringing the Bishop into personal touch with so many parishes and people every year. All agreed that there is an objective gift of the Holy Ghost to faithful receivers. No controversy with us as to requirements from young people, since it is voluntary. [There is such a controversy in Denmark, where Confirmation is practically obligatory at fourteen, which has led to the adoption of an alternative form in which no question is asked of the children ; only the Pastor explains the Creed.] We also dwell on two sides of the rite: (1) it is an ordination to lay priesthood; (2) a consecration of the body. I spoke of the value of our Prayer-book catechism and collects. I always desired our young clergy to have a copy in their pockets. As to 'evangelical,' I explained that it meant trying to respond to new needs in new Gospel ways; *e.g.* we had frankly adopted the method of the Salvation Army in our Church Army; poor men and women preach and minister to the poor. Also our C.E.M.S., W.U., G.F.S., etc."

The Bishop's impression of the Danish Church was that it was "generally orthodox, but not much leaning to 'Catholic' doctrine or practice. Grundtvig's party has weakened respect for Bishops." [1]

[1] Extracts from the very full diary kept by the Bishop during this expedition.

From Copenhagen they passed to Upsala, postponing further visits till the Conference with the representatives of the Swedish Church should have been held. The story of the meeting and the names of the Swedes who were present may be read in the published report. The Swedish Church is eminently a scholarly one. The Archbishop and six of the twelve Bishops had been University Professors; all the chief speakers on the Swedish side in the discussion could speak English. The debate at Upsala lasted for three days. It was found that of the four points in the "Lambeth quadrilateral" three were clearly held equally by either side. The inquiry, therefore, was confined to the ministry of the two Churches. The Swedes had questions to ask. They wished to know about Barlow and Parker, and the reasons why Rome rejects English Orders. On the other hand, the English divines wished to be satisfied as to the Swedish succession, and the intention of the Swedish Church in conferring episcopate and priesthood, together with the method and form of their ordination. There were ambiguous points, but they were successfully explained, and the Conference ended, in Bishop Wordsworth's words, "with many mutual expressions of gratitude, affection, good will, and hopefulness." On the last day the Bishop of Winchester laid a wreath on the grave, before the Cathedral altar, of Laurentius Petri, the first Protestant Archbishop of Upsala, who had been consecrated in 1531 by Petrus Magni, himself consecrated at Rome.

When their immediate task was over the English party broke up, and the Bishop of Salisbury applied himself to learn as much as possible in eleven days. The Swedish Church and its ancient customs, its chasubles and altar-lights, its collects drawn from the old service-books, and its stately music; on the other hand, its Lutheran peculiarities, its abandonment of the diaconate

and of Confirmation; its tendencies of thought, sometimes such as the Bishop preferred, sometimes dogmatically Lutheran or evangelically undenominational; all these points were observed and recorded. Conversing with Bishops and pastors at every opportunity and visiting parishes in town and country, he made himself acquainted with the financial state of the clergy, their methods of work, their advantages and their difficulties. He visited both Universities, Lund as well as Upsala, and it is needless to say that at Stockholm he examined the famous manuscripts, the *Aureus* and the *Gigas*. After a tour through much of Southern Sweden, in the course of which acquaintance was made with members of the royal family and many other persons of distinction, the Bishop and Mrs. Wordsworth left the country for England on the 4th October.

Three months later the Commission had drawn up and published its report, and the Bishop must have thought that his work in regard to Sweden was at an end. In fact, it was only beginning. There had been good reason for the inclusion of a Bishop whose diocese lay on the banks of Lake Superior in the Commission. In his State of Michigan and in those contiguous to it almost a quarter of the Swedish race is resident, and problems in regard to their relation with Episcopalians are pressing. Swedes of one type, that which values the historical presentation of the Christian faith, had often, and for many generations, been drawn towards our Church, which actually has congregations in the United States which once were Swedish, and others, of more recent foundation, in whose services the Swedish language is used. But the great majority of the American Swedes are less churchly than their countrymen at home. They have never had Bishops, and do not, it seems, wish to have them. They could only obtain them from Sweden, and the request

would seem an act of subordination to which they are not willing to stoop. Hence, though the American Swedes regard themselves as in communion with the Church of their home, there is a certain difficulty when the leaders of our Church in the United States have occasion to co-operate with those of Churches—for the Swedes there are divided into several bodies, though all profess allegiance to the standards of the Church of Sweden—which are contentedly unepiscopalian. Nor is this difficulty confined to Anglicans ; it is felt in Sweden itself, where, by a curious compromise, a clergyman in the orders of one of these Lutheran Swedish bodies of America is allowed to serve as an assistant curate, but may not hold a benefice.

In the prairie States, then, there is a practical difficulty, and there was reason for thinking that a clear statement of historical facts might help to clear up an ambiguous situation. Obviously no one was more competent to make it than the Bishop of Salisbury, and there was a convenient occasion for inviting him. In 1900 Bishop C. R. Hale, of Cairo, Coadjutor of Springfield in the State of Illinois, had endowed by his will a lecture at the Western Theological Seminary in Chicago, the duties of which resembled those of the Bampton lecturer at Oxford. One of the topics that might be treated according to the terms of the trust was " National Churches." The authorities of the Seminary used the opportunity to ask Bishop Wordsworth, on the 10th December, 1909, to lecture on the subject he was making his own. He accepted at once, and was soon able to write to Bishop Wallis [1] :—

" I have got quite a big Swedish library, and only want concentrated energy and time to work at it. I am getting a good idea of the Swedish character, which is a comparatively simple one to describe if not to comprehend—proud, sensitive,

[1] 24th March, 1910.

and self-contained, disliking pretence but somewhat conventional, courteous and hospitable, and ready to take in foreign ideas, but very tenacious and conservative, somewhat sensual and materialistic, but loving country ways and country life and homeliness; in fact, having many qualities which seem rather opposite to one another and yet are very natural and spontaneous with it all; practical at once and dreamy, loving peace and war alike.

"But how to summarise their religious history in six lectures! The idea rather oppresses me, and I shall get tired of it before I have done."

The lectures were to be delivered in the last week of October, and it was from the first intended that they should form a book, or at least be its groundwork. Speed, therefore, was necessary, for though the Bishop had worked out for himself a sketch of Swedish Church history for the purposes of the Lambeth Committee and of the visit to Sweden, it was in the form of rough notes and was incomplete and unverified. He set to work systematically to acquire a working library on the subject, and made himself for reading purposes familiar with the language. The rapidity with which he picked it up was remarkable in a man past middle life, but the striking thing was not the achievement in itself but rather the grasp of language in general that made it possible, and even easy. It would, indeed, have been strange if a Teutonic tongue had held difficulties for him. The preparation for the lectures could not, from the nature of the case, include any research, in the strict sense of the word. Yet it would be untrue to describe the result as a compilation. The Bishop had no time to do more than ascertain what were the most authoritative books upon his subject, to master them and select what he needed, and verify doubtful points either by inquiry from competent scholars or else (though rarely) by investigations

of his own. This work was successfully done, for his wide knowledge of history taught him what were the questions that needed to be asked; and he not only secured accuracy, but actually in some cases added to knowledge by the inquiries he instituted. The collection of his books was itself an undertaking of some moment. Since the Bishop's death this portion of his library has been given to that of the Archbishops at Lambeth Palace. There were greater libraries that were very willing to receive it.

Before the Bishop left England, a great part of his lectures was in print. This was far from the whole of his literary work for the year 1910. He edited again his *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer-book*,[1] he revised for a second edition his *Invocation of Saints*,[2] and published the third edition, revised and enlarged, of his *Holy Communion*.[3] It was inevitable in the circumstances, but most unfortunate, that he should fail to do justice to this important work. The additions are valuable, and the original text has lost nothing of its merit, but he could not fully incorporate the recent accumulations of knowledge nor so recast the work as to give it the symmetry it deserves. One more event of the year must be mentioned. An *Ordinatorum Conventus* was held from the 6th to the 9th June, when most of those whom he had admitted to Holy Orders during the twenty-five years of his episcopate assembled at Salisbury for religious intercourse. Among those whom he had ordained were Dr. Pollock, the present Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Westcott, lately Bishop of Lahore, the Archdeacons of Brecon, Warwick, and Wilts,[4] and Father Dolling.

The Bishop sailed from Southampton on the 15th

[1] In the series "Early Church Classics," of the S.P.C.K.
[2] S.P.C.K. [3] Longmans.
[4] Messrs. Bevan, Peile, and Bodington.

September and landed at New York on the 21st, his sixty-seventh and last birthday. He had come with a double duty. Knowing that he was to lecture at Chicago, the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church had invited him to preach at the Annual Convention which was to be held at Cincinnati at the beginning of October. He therefore landed in the United States in a public capacity, and his name also drew attention to his visit. But among the journalists who buzzed around him were some to whom his name and style were unfamiliar. "Lord Bishop John Wadsworth of Salisbury" was one description; in others his city was "Salesbury." But the lordship was an obsession of the reporter's mind.[1] "The Lord Bishop" would occur in sentence after sentence; "Lord Bishop comes to Boston" was conspicuous in one newspaper. "Newspapers without news" was one of his list of "Things different in U.S.A.," together with squirrels in city parks, dark churches always needing artificial light, and general politeness and universal helpfulness to strangers. Many strange things were alleged about him; for instance, that he was the greatest Latinist in Europe, the evidence being that he had once written a letter in Latin to the Pope. He was perhaps a difficult case, for he was not submissive to the reporters, one of whom was reduced to commenting on the incongruity of steel rims to the spectacles of a Lord Bishop. But none of them equalled that secretary of an English Free Church Council who in 1909 addressed him as "John Salem, Esquire."

The Bishop was accompanied to America by the last and most gifted of his domestic chaplains, Mr. J. S. S. Johnston,[2]

[1] I am told that there is an impression in America that "Lord Bishop" is a grade in the Anglican hierarchy between Archbishop and Bishop.

[2] John Samuel Spence Johnston had taken the highest honours at Trinity College, Dublin, and was ordained in 1905 to the Curacy of St.

from whose notes the record of this American journey will chiefly be made. Mr. Johnston, after mentioning the two objects of the Bishop, writes :—

"The purpose of the tour would not be adequately described without some reference to a deeper motive which touched and fired the Bishop's imagination and gave to this invitation from the New World almost the nature of a Divine call. All through his life, but much more in his later years, he had come to regard it as a special vocation that he should be a minister of 'unity and fellowship' among the nations and Churches of the world. In this office of ambassador and peace-maker he had made many journeys and visited many countries; it was his conviction that only through personal contact and mutual knowledge would the Christian peoples throughout the world gradually move towards some form of reunion. He often spoke of this dream and desire, so deep in his heart, of drawing the peoples of the world together and of helping them to furnish their own special contributions to the common fund of humanity. To one who so felt his own vocation it may easily be imagined how this call from America would appeal. His casual words would often reveal the imaginative framework in which he viewed this undertaking. It was to him no pleasure trip or exchange of ecclesiastical courtesies; it was a step towards his ideal. He felt himself the bearer of a message from the Old World to the New, the representative of a historic Church and an ancient see carrying a benediction to a land of hope. Throughout his tour he seemed to be always viewing his labours and travels in this light. He felt the responsibility of his mission, and saw his own brief sojourn against a background of larger meaning.

"During the first nine days of our tour we stayed at New York, where we made our home at Trinity Rectory, and all that kindness and thought could do for our comfort and enjoyment was done by our kind host and hostess, Dr. and

Peter's, Croydon. In 1909 he became resident Chaplain at Salisbury. After Bishop Wordsworth's death he was collated by his successor to the Vicarage of Broadstone, Dorset, where he died in 1914 at the age of 36. He was author of *The Philosophy of the Fourth Gospel*, 1909, and would have made his mark as a thoughtful theologian had he lived.

Mrs. Manning. From there we paid short visits to Philadelphia and Washington. On our first Sunday in America the Bishop preached in the historic Trinity Church in New York. There was an immense congregation, many of the general public being attracted by the magic name of Wordsworth. The Bishop's sermon did not aim at producing any dramatic effect; indeed, throughout the tour he seemed almost deliberately to throw cold water on would-be lionisers and hero-worshippers, and he must thereby have produced some disappointment in lovers of the picturesque and dramatic. Yet he could not spoil the natural impressiveness of his bearing and utterance, and he was listened to with marked attention in Trinity Church by a congregation which included many of the leaders of American life. The sermon [1] showed that though he was the bearer of a message from the Old World he had already grasped some salient characteristics of the New. He uttered wise and telling words of warning against the impatience of modern life, the love of 'short cuts' which showed itself in so many ways; in the devices to avoid pain and labour, in the desire rapidly to attain wealth by speculation. He showed the same tendency at work in those who, not content with the conviction of a patient faith, try by a short cut to pierce through to the unseen by means of spiritualism or theosophy. 'We want,' he said, 'to bring everything from the moon downwards within the reach of a single effort.' This was his first public utterance in New York, and many of his *dicta* were quoted and requoted in the American press."

In New York the Bishop was met with almost an excess of hospitality. Eminent men in all departments of life met him at dinner; among others Admiral Mahan, to whom he discoursed about the nautical experiences of Synesius. He lectured on his special topics at several Colleges, and of course viewed the great libraries with peculiar interest. He had a long interview with Archbishop Platon, the head of the Orthodox Church in North America. From New York he went to Boston,

[1] Its subject was "Christlike discipline of the will."

and thence to Albany, where he found the Cathedral "really beautiful; fine pink stone, Lombardic in architecture." Bishop Doane of that city was an old and dear friend.

"From Albany," Mr. Johnston continues, "we travelled with a party of Bishops in great luxury, on the late Mr. Pierpont Morgan's special train, to Cincinnati, where the General Convention of the American Church was to be held. At Cincinnati we were guests of Mr. Charles P. Taft, brother of the late President.[1] The Bishop delivered the opening address to the Convention in the Music Hall, to an audience of 5000. The *Cincinnati Times-Star* described the service as 'the most solemn, convincing, and triumphant of all the many historic events which the old Hall has sheltered.' While the general public might have preferred something rather more racy and highly spiced the delegates were deeply impressed. The subject was our Lord's cleansing of the Temple. Perhaps rather too much time was given to the textual exposition of the incident, but the application to present-day conditions was penetrating and practical, especially when the Bishop came to deal with the serious problems of family life and divorce in America. He had been staggered by the condition of things he found, and in the most earnest way he pleaded with this great and representative congregation to throw their influence into the task of 're-creating the family and making it an image of the Church.' There were characteristic passages such as this:—

"'Women, we are told in the old fable, love power most of all. But I believe they love far more to be joint-partners with a will more powerful than their own. Give way to your wives in little things, but let your will prevail in great ones. You will not lose, but gain their love.'

"The question of the reunion of the various Christian bodies was perhaps the dominant subject discussed at the

[1] The Bishop made careful notes of Mr. Taft's collection of paintings by the Masters, and of the methods employed in printing his newspaper, the *Times-Star*. At Mr. Taft's home, as at Trinity Rectory, he met many distinguished Americans.

Convention, and the matter was pressed forward with great enthusiasm. The Bishop gave wise counsel in his opening address :—

" 'We must labour to clear away barriers that separate Christians from one another, but must prepare the way with caution and gentleness. The Church is not a single building on a small plot of ground, but, like Heaven, it has many mansions. All who have had to do with the housing problem know how much mischief may be done by the sudden removal of small and narrow dwellings, which yet are familiar homes, and the substitution for them of a great block of tenements with the most modern sanitary appliances. Our Church life is too domestic, too intimate, too sacred to be suddenly transformed into a vast international, interdenominational club-house. We must, therefore, work at the problem with self-denial and reserve. But we must give our energies definitely and decisively to those parts of it where opportunity seems most to lead us on.'

" In spite of these counsels of prudence and reserve the Bishop took a very hopeful view of the prospects of Christian reunion in America, especially since a Commission was appointed by the Convention to organise a Conference 'for the consideration of questions of Faith and Order,' and a resolution was carried that 'all Christian communions throughout the world which confess our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour be asked to unite in arranging for and conducting such a Conference.' The Bishop felt very strongly that the Episcopal Church in America had a great part to play in this movement ; for with its historic basis and its solid institutions it seemed to be a natural rallying-point amid the fluctuations of many denominations. Further observation convinced him that the moral position of the Episcopal Church was much stronger than the small number of its adherents might lead one to suppose."

The Bishop's own account of the day runs :—

" Wednesday, 5th October, Cincinnati. 7.30 a.m. Holy Communion at St. Paul's Cathedral, a poor building for such a purpose, full of Bishops and delegates. About ninety-seven

Bishops and seven hundred delegates attend the Convention; four clergymen and four laymen from each diocese.

"10.30 preached after short Morning Prayer at the Music Hall in Elm Street. Intensely hot. The rain continued nearly all day. Slipped off chimere and scarf in the pulpit. Preached on 'Our Lord as a Reformer.' I had finished the MS. on the previous day. Mr. Taft had it printed and sent me a proof in slips, to which I added a little, and the whole was being sold as an evening paper at 11.30, while I was preaching. I cut out a good deal in delivery, but it took about an hour. Of course in such a place it had to be slowly delivered."

The damp heat which the Bishop mentions prevailed during most of his visit. Before he had been a week in the United States he was feeling weary. He was preaching every Sunday, he delivered learned lectures in several Colleges, and an impromptu address seems to have been expected whenever he examined some institution. He was travelling constantly by train, seeing all that he could and entering into conversation with all from whom he could learn or with whom he found some link of association. Most tiring of all must have been the hospitable dinners at which, night after night, he had to hold his own with men gifted in many ways. It is no wonder that a friendly physician had insisted that a considerable share of the few hours he devoted to Washington should be given to rest. References, continuous though not emphatic, to his weariness and the discomfort of the heat are found throughout the Bishop's notes.

"From Cincinnati," Mr. Johnston continues, "we travelled to Sewanee in the State of Tennessee. At Sewanee is the University of the South, which the Bishop had been urgently pressed to visit. This visit he regarded as the most delightful part of his American tour. The University of the South is a Church institution, planned before the Civil War broke out and finally brought into being by Bishop Quintard in 1866. It is rich in memories of the great leaders of the

South, and Dr. Du Bose, the most famous of its teachers, fought in the Confederate Army and had many perilous adventures before he settled down to a professorship. The little University has had a romantic history. Unlike many others in America it has had no large endowments. It has had to fight its way through great difficulties; it has only lived through the loyalty and self-sacrifice of its members, both teachers and students. Many of its lecturers have given their services almost for nothing, and have refused offers of lucrative work elsewhere. In this mountain retreat there lives on the spirit of the old South, purified and refined through years of hardship and struggle.

"Though it lay far out of his route and meant a long and trying journey, the Bishop had resolved to visit Sewanee. The little town is set on a spur of the Cumberland Mountains, some two thousand feet above sea-level. We looked forward to our visit to this bracing altitude after the rather close and relaxing climate of Cincinnati. The latter part of our journey, from Nashville to Sewanee,[1] was slow but full of interest, and we had the pleasant company of Bishop Gailor to while away the time as we steamed through cotton-fields and passed the quiet graveyards of the Civil War. There is a wonderful succession of glorious views as the little railway climbs round the shoulders of the hills. At last we reached Sewanee, and the Bishop was amply repaid for the tedium of the journey by the charm of the place and the welcome of its residents. The home of the University is one of the most picturesque spots that can be imagined. The buildings of red sandstone, dotted here and there among the trees, are a pleasant relief after the painful monotony of the typical American city. Unhappily the mosquitoes to some extent spoiled the charm. Sleep was difficult; the heat had been taxing the Bishop's strength and he was growing very tired. He lectured on the Baptismal Creed in the Theological School, and celebrated the Holy Communion in the College Chapel, being, I believe, the first English Bishop to perform that office in Sewanee. He found himself in cordial sympathy with the ideals of the place. Its air of peaceful industry and quiet culture were after his

[1] A private car had again been put at the Bishop's service.

own heart, and long conversations with the veteran theologian, Dr. Du Bose, added greatly to his pleasure.

"Next we visited Nashville, where the Bishop preached on the Sunday in a crowded church. There, as elsewhere in the South, the Bishop was almost overwhelmed by the warmth of the welcome he received. The attachment of the people in the Southern States to English traditions, religious as well as social and civil, was a revelation to him, and drew forth the remark on more than one occasion that he feared our distinguished English visitors had treated the South with less than due respect in confining their tours almost exclusively to the great cities of the Northern States.

"From Sewanee we went to Chicago, where we were guests in the friendly home of Bishop Anderson. Here began the Bishop's special opportunities of making acquaintance with the Swedish settlers who are numerous in the States of Illinois, Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin. In company with Bishop G. Mott Williams, of Marquette, he visited the Augustana College, Rock Island, on the Mississippi, about two hundred miles west of Chicago. It is the spiritual centre of the greatest Swedish Church in America, the Augustana Synod, which is generally regarded as the daughter Church of the National Church of Sweden. After a very pleasant visit to the beautiful city of Minneapolis, the Bishop returned to Chicago, where two Sundays were spent, and the lectures on the Church of Sweden were delivered on the six nights of the intervening week."

These Western journeys, made by night, were a further strain, but private conference with Swedish leaders was a primary purpose of the whole visit to America. At Rock Island the theological professors were found in lay attire, while the clergy of Sweden are scrupulously professional in their clothing. And this external difference seems to have symbolised an interior difference of sympathies. Rock Island was less ecclesiastical than Upsala. A long and candid discussion was held, and the Bishop thought at the end that "we had done some good." Minneapolis, a great commercial city with large Swedish

congregations, was also visited with the purpose of making acquaintance with their leading clergy. The Hale Lectures, delivered in the evenings of the week from the 24th to the 29th October, to an audience which ranged between seventy and a hundred, were a further strain. The weather was sultry and rain was continuous. St. James's Church, Chicago, in which they were given, was so near to trains and tramways that not a window could be opened. On Sunday morning, the 30th, the Bishop preached in Chicago Cathedral. He spent the night, much exhausted, in the train on the way to Buffalo. Next day, in the company of Bishop Walker, he visited Niagara, and in the evening addressed the annual council of the Girls' Friendly Society of the United States, then in session at Buffalo. Again he spent a night in the train to New York, and after two busy days, during which he inspected institutions and granted many interviews, he embarked on the *Oceanic* for Southampton.

It is no wonder that Mr. Johnston should record that—

"the Bishop was clearly much exhausted by the incessant strain. We had met with spells of excessive heat, and this, added to the fatigue of night travelling, told very much on the Bishop's strength. He seldom seemed to have had refreshing sleep, and the continual rush of American life did not give opportunity for those quiet spaces of meditation by which he had always been able to refresh his spirit in his own land. In the earlier part of the tour he was wonderfully vigorous, and in the long railway journey from Albany to Cincinnati he rather amazed his episcopal companions by writing the greater part of his Convention sermon; certainly no one who reads it will find much to suggest hasty preparation. But in the later part of his tour the Bishop was continually tired, and almost on the verge of physical collapse. Yet he would not give in, and he carried out his programme to the last detail.

"What impression the Bishop made in America it is not

easy to say. He would not speak of himself or his own scholarship, or tell anecdotes of the poet. But those who came into close contact were clearly impressed by his absence of self-consciousness, his childlike humility, his interest in the details of household life, his transparent sincerity and warm-heartedness, and above all by his distinction and natural dignity. Once, at a dinner where a great number of American Bishops were present, the Bishop who sat next to me said, 'I cannot define or analyse the quality your Bishop has. No one in the room is making less effort to shine than he. Yet if any one looked round the table, without knowing any of us, he would not have a moment's hesitation in saying, "There is the great man in this assembly."'

"As to the Bishop's impression of America and its people, the testimony is ample and unmistakable. What impressed, and indeed surprised him, was the kindliness and courtesy of the people he met in the streets and the trains. His verdict was that they were not only hospitable, generous, and considerate, but also a lovable people. It is surely a proof of his large-heartedness that he should have felt this towards a nation with whom one would have expected him, with his tastes and training and traditions, to have had little in common.

"The other outstanding feature in the life of America that impressed him is one that may best be described in his own words, from an address delivered soon after his return :—

"'I think that every one would admit that the most remarkable feature of America is its growing homogeneity. Although there are still large isolated and rather reluctant nuclei of Germans and other foreign nationalities, particularly Slavs of various kinds, as a rule they are becoming rapidly assimilated. The most obvious agency in this process are the "Public Schools," a term which includes both elementary and high schools, which often lead up to State Universities where tuition is given free. This system of education has the great drawback of being in most cases purely secular,[1] but it

[1] The Bishop was grieved to find that the State of Illinois had just pronounced the Lord's Prayer a "sectarian formula," and forbidden its use in the public schools.

is difficult to see how any other system could have produced the desired effect of creating a nation under such circumstances. The results, however, in the looseness of the religious tie and in the consequent lack of respect for religious authority, are very grave. The Roman Catholics are credited with promoting this secularity in the State schools in order to justify their own position in keeping up separate schools. What is the character which is thus produced? The formative and most influential element in it has been, on the whole, happily for the country, that of the Eastern States; that is to say, an English character tinged with Puritanism, but now washed free from bigotry and prejudice. It stands for keenness in business and directness in speech, fairness especially towards differences of opinion, love of liberty and love of comfort; and just now there is appearing a great passion for philanthropy as a substitute for religion. Material prosperity and a perception of the value of liberty in the formation of character have endowed the nation with remarkable good humour. Almost the last place we visited in America was Niagara. We both felt glad we had left it to the very end, for it seemed, better than anything else, to sum up the total impression. As one looked first at the turbulence and confusion and mad rush of the great waterfall, one seemed to see the true image of American life in its superficial aspect. But as one looked more closely, there were seen in the thick of the spray myriads of rainbows when the sun shone through. So, too, as one looked closer into the noise and confusion of American life, there might be seen also rainbows of hope and promise. . . . I can only say, in concluding my account of my visit, that I have come back to my own country with a heart deeply moved with thankfulness to dear friends on the other side of the Atlantic. I have found them courteous, generous, and lovable in the highest degree, and profoundly desirous of building up a great fabric of national life and national Christianity.'"

The Bishop had travelled some 4500 miles in the train, and sorely needed rest. He found it in his ship. There seemed to be not merely recovery to his former state, but actually an advance beyond it. He landed at

Southampton on the 9th November, spent the night at home, and the next two days in Convocation, where, the Bishop of London said in welcoming him, he "burst upon them with the breeziness and enthusiasm of a boy." From this time onward his thoughts and utterances were full of the lessons he had learned in America. But for the present he was still immersed in his Swedish labours. His book was not published till the beginning of 1911; the preface is dated Christmas, 1910. Before the volume appeared he had explained to his diocese [1] the possibilities of the future in regard to the Swedes of Europe and America :—

"There are, I believe, about two million Swedes in the United States. The Swedes are a most valuable set of colonists. Their honesty and diligence, their love of religion to a certain point, and their many virtues make them most welcome citizens, and they amalgamate very swiftly with the Anglo-Saxon population; but only one-quarter of them are attached to any religious body as actual members. If an alliance between the Church of America and the Church of Sweden in the mother country, and that of the Augustana Synod in U.S.A., could do anything to bring the great mass of these valuable colonists into closer Church fellowship it would be a most excellent work for the United States. It would bring our own Churches into touch with a most important body of Christians, equal in numbers, probably, to all other Evangelical Christians put together—namely, the Lutherans. It is estimated by Dr. Lenker, of Minneapolis, the translator of Luther's works and a great authority on Lutheranism, that there are about seventy million Lutherans in the world. If the Anglican Churches and the Swedish Churches could enter into a thorough and intimate alliance, we should be in touch with a body of persons who had preserved a very strong hold upon Christian truth, a hold stronger, perhaps, than that of any other Evangelical religious body, except the Scotch

[1] In an address to a Conference of Diocesan officers, 17th November, 1910. *Diocesan Gazette*, p. 284.

Presbyterians, and we should be able, in that way, to do a very great work for the Church universal. Here might be a door open for a much greater movement than any other which had been possible for centuries. The getting into touch with the enormous body of Lutherans is a matter which had occupied the attention of many of our predecessors in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. I have only recently become acquainted with the steps which were taken in the matter by Archbishop Laud and other Bishops, including my predecessor, Bishop Davenant. The death of Gustavus Adolphus put an end to an opportunity for alliance which never arose again.[1] May we do something to take up the task under happier conditions."

The National Church of Sweden was at once translated into Swedish. It is read in the Universities of that country, and also, as I am told, in the University of Christiania. The introduction to the Swedish edition, written by Professor Söderblom, who has since become Archbishop of Upsala, will show in what light it appears to a competent native critic.[2]

"This work is destined to be for a long time to come the medium of knowledge about our Church in foreign lands. She (the Swedish Church) is to be congratulated that she is indebted for this to an author so well informed, so personally eminent, and so impressed with her history and possibilities. But most of all the book owes its peculiar fascination, its suggestive character, and its permanent worth to the English prelate's vigorous outlook on our history, and on the position of the two Churches in general. Subjects are brought before us in a new light and with an unaccustomed background. We encounter a lofty conception of the task of the Church, and at the same time a warm and wide affection flowing out of a truly episcopal spirit, which would have Bishops to be[3]

[1] See *The National Church of Sweden*, pp. 290–298.
[2] The translation is made by Chancellor Bernard.
[3] See *National Church of Sweden*, p. 420.

'not Inspectors but Fathers in God.' When Bishop Wordsworth desires, with an eagerness which is a little surprising to us, that the Bishop should lay his hand on the head of every person confirmed, it is not that he regards it merely as a ceremony, but as an expression of close personal relation. So at least at that time in his life will every member of the Church necessarily come in contact with his Bishop. Here in our land at the present day the different classes live more apart from one another than formerly, as it were in separate strata. It would be for our welfare if both in Church and State, in the Army and other employments, those above and those below had more real contact with one another. The author's view of our ecclesiastical conditions is realistic, not fanciful or romantic, but at the same time it is unalarmed and full of confidence. His widely extended survey should help to inspire somewhat of a consciousness of fellowship in place of that too frequent superficial, short-sighted, irresponsible attitude which under a pretence of zeal embitters our inevitable difficulties and controversies. His closing words refer primarily to a good understanding between his Church and our own, but may well be applied to our Church's inner life. May He who gives His servants the power to see visions, also help us to make them realities."

The session of Convocation upon which he had burst gives occasion of reference to a lack of which he was sometimes conscious. Of its debates he writes [1]:—

"We have done a good deal of business with Prayer-book revision, though I could not get my points carried. I wish I was readier in argument and more persuasive, as I am often right when others are wrong and cannot get enough votes to carry things."

As to this difficulty the Bishop of Winchester writes:—

"There was a very strong individuality about the way in which the Bishop formed and expressed his opinion. Partly from his special knowledge on certain subjects, but also from

[1] To Mrs. Wordsworth, 10th November, 1910.

temperament, it was his way to put forward an opinion dogmatically, and not to seem, as he did so, much affected by indications that it was not welcome, or might not be shared by others among his brethren. He would not mind dividing in a minority of one; but, having done so, he would cheerfully accept the result without any annoyance or bitterness; and what might have been mistaken at a particular moment for indifference to others' opinion went in reality, if one watched, with a very careful attention to the thoughts and suggestions of men whom he respected, and indeed of those with whom he was called to act."

This comparative failure was in great measure physical. As Dr. Sanday, speaking especially of his appearances in the House of Lords, has said,[1] perhaps too emphatically:—

"He had none of the orator's skill in taking his cue from the audience. This may have been partly due to the short-sightedness which prevented him from seeing his audience. But his speeches were apt to be rather of the nature of soliloquies in which he followed the course of his own thoughts."

Similarly his chaplain, Mr. J. S. S. Johnston, speaking of his more private attempts to influence the conduct of some of the clergy, says:—

"The Bishop sometimes seemed keenly aware of his own limitations. Once he said to me (with a good deal of feeling), 'I can prove a thing, but ah! I can't persuade, I can't persuade!' . . . It was true enough."

But in such cases he was reasoning with partisans, with whom it was a point of honour not to be convinced.

The Bishop, at the beginning of 1911, addressed a New Year's Letter to the clergy and laity. It was in part political; he wished to give counsel in view of the second General Election of 1910. He recognises that the

[1] *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. V., as before.

"merely hereditary principle" in the House of Lords is generally abandoned; yet heredity has its value, and "England, the centre of a great scattered empire, particularly needs these conservative forces." He advocates the election of a certain proportion of the Upper House. This will make possible the retention of some Bishops in it. He continues:—

"I confidently assert that the presence of a certain number of Bishops in the House is of real and permanent value to the country. It is a defence against hasty legislation on religious matters and a security that the religious point of view in social matters shall not be overlooked. No one who has followed the action of our Archbishops can doubt this. On the other hand, it would be an advantage if representatives of other religious bodies could find a place in the Upper Chamber."

If Bishops were excluded, he asserted that it "would be absolutely necessary for the Church to have a legal representative body of its own, side by side and in some degree co-ordinate with Parliament." He finds in Sweden an example that might serve our turn.

As the last months of Bishop Wordsworth's life have now been reached, months through which he was to continue his labours, till their sudden end, under worse conditions of health than he knew, or at least would recognise, it will be well first to give the summary record made by the one who was nearest to him, and then to amplify it from other sources. Mrs. Wordsworth writes:—

"He had overtaxed his strength through and after the last Lambeth Conference. The visit to Sweden had been an immense pleasure to him, opening as it did enticing ideas for further unity and giving him the opportunity for many new interests and friendships. He felt strongly drawn to efforts to understand and help that Church, and so could not bear that the invitation to America to give the Hale Lectures should be refused, though he did greatly wish that some one

else, especially Canon Bernard, might undertake the task instead of himself. He accepted it with distinct misgiving, which we shared and openly confe.sed. And his letters to me all the time showed that he was feeling it as too great an effort. So I too was amazed when he came back, literally like a boy coming home for the holidays. I think he was thankful to have it all behind him ; and he threw himself into the diocesan work with greater zeal than ever. He had a breakdown in January, 1911, which ought to have had more time given to it, but he seemed to recover rather remarkably. Then he spent a Lent of quite extraordinary work, with his Confirmation tour ; often three services a day, preaching on Sundays, celebrating the Holy Communion, paying pastoral visits, arranging for new efforts in the Visitation he was planning for the autumn. But he did show signs of unusual fatigue. On Good Friday he took the Three Hours' Service in the Cathedral. This was a very great effort to him. It had weighed on him all through Lent. It was not a service that appealed to him, and he had never taken one, but he did not want to refuse the Dean. On Easter Day he celebrated at 8—we were never out of Cathedral much before 9.30 on that day—he then went, fasting, to take the service at St. Edmund's as the Rector was ill. There he preached and celebrated, and then before coming back for lunch he went up the hill in answer to a request that he would visit one of the clergy, who was supposed to be dying. He came back, tired out, and then preached in the Cathedral that afternoon. But in the evening he collapsed with high fever, and it was no surprise to hear that he was willing to stay in bed the next day. That was the beginning of a long, mysterious low fever at Salisbury and Bridehead, where he saw three doctors who all made light of it, except that they agreed in insisting that it pointed to the urgent need of a complete rest. I was very uneasy, and sure that he was more ill than any one thought ; and he himself was very depressed and talked of resigning or having definite suffragan help. But he shrank from that idea, as he always maintained that the diocese was not more than a Bishop in full health and strength could manage. However, we went to Lulworth and Southwold, and he certainly seemed to make a real recovery ; and on the 28th June

we returned to Salisbury for the Trinity Ordination, which had been postponed and which he held with his usual vigour, I think. And he took up life again with such thankfulness and eagerness; promising to go slowly and take things easily —a promise which it was impossible for him to keep. We were a good deal at Lulworth, but there were various camps in the neighbourhood and he took long walks, visiting them and preaching. It was, of course, a very hot summer, and I am sure the heat exhausted him. We had some Copts to stay with us; he preached at the Bishop of Gibraltar's consecration; he took the Asylum duty at Salisbury on Sunday, the 3rd July. Then he had the great blow of the Bishop of Oxford's death on the 2nd August, which he felt deeply. And he was worried by events in the political world, especially the passing of the Parliament Bill. He preached in the Cathedral on the 6th August, but that day had sharp pain in his chest. The following Tuesday he was very ill with pain, and was advised complete rest in bed. Again he surprised every one by seeming to recover; but he did several things against the doctor's orders, and on Tuesday, the 15th, took a long service of licensing and had interviews with several of the priests. On Wednesday, 16th August, I asked the doctor to be more firm in telling him that nothing but a long and entire rest could possibly restore him. So he did, indicating that no work should be undertaken till January, 1912. The Bishop felt this very much, but he recovered his spirits and got up and came down to lunch in the garden with all the children. He specially encouraged the boys to say what they would be and do when they grew up. From a game of halma with one of the girls he came upstairs soon after lunch with a return of the pain. It was extreme for more than an hour, and then quite suddenly all was over. I think it had almost literally broken his heart to hear that he must give up work for a second time that year."

So far was the Bishop, at the beginning of 1911, from thinking that his work was nearly done, that he was contemplating, at some time in the future, a journey to Khartoum in the service of the Church, which was to

be the last of his expeditions. Beside his ordinary work, he was, as Mrs. Wordsworth says, labouring at what was for him a novel task, the preparation for the Three Hours' Service. He wrote to her [1]:—

"I have done a little to my *Three Hours*, but it is very hard. Trying to see a little deeper than others have done into our Saviour's heart cannot be wrong, but it seems to have in it a little danger of curiosity and vanity if we think we know more than others. 'I am not worthy, O Lord,' sounds much in my ears."

His preaching on that Good Friday was "remarkable for the freshness and originality of his treatment of the great theme," writes one who was present.[2] At his last Synod, as at his first, he urged the importance of diocesan history; but this time his topic was the danger lest the work of the good men who had revived the Church in country parishes within the nineteenth century should be ungratefully forgotten. But he was not allowed to be present on the occasion, and his address was read for him. Meanwhile, he was planning that Visitation, strange and alarming to the clergy,[3] which he was not to hold; and doubtless he was also arranging for the future when his work should have passed out of his hands. His chaplain, Mr. Johnston, says:—

"Though he had a strong love of life, death was never long out of his thoughts. With that instinct for continuity ('days bound each to each in natural piety') he was always thinking how he might prepare successors to take his place and carry on his work when he was gone. In each of his many departments of activity he was always looking out for some one on whom his mantle might fall. This was a characteristic so deeply rooted and so constantly seen at work that it deserves mention among his leading habits of mind."

[1] 16th March, 1911. [2] Canon E. E. Dugmore.

[3] See p. 274.

An incident of his illness is recorded by one of the Cathedral clergy who was often with him :—

"It was on the evening of Low Sunday, or that of the second Sunday after Easter, that he sent for me to sit with him. He was in unusually low spirits and very weak. After ordinary talk he asked me to pray and lay my hand on him in blessing. It is a recollection which I naturally cherish, though at the time it seemed an embarrassing reversal of our normal relations. I dare say others had a like experience with him, and I think he valued personal sympathy more than people generally knew. The points which stand out in my memory as chiefly impressing me in this period are my sense of the wealth of his affection for his friends and of his own realisation of the nearness of the eternal world. I think that he was conscious that his life-work was nearly over, and in his outlook on the future of the Church and nation he was feeling acutely anxious on account first, of symptoms of an increase of doubt on the historical character of the Gospel history, and secondly, of certain outbreaks of unusually grave immorality. But that anxiety was strictly in accordance with his habitually intense realisation, throughout his twenty-five years' rule as Bishop, of the awful responsibility which rests on the collective episcopate for the welfare, spiritual and temporal, of the Church and the world."

But soon his illness took a turn for the better, and he began to speak with characteristic hopefulness. On the 5th May he wrote to the Bishop of Winchester :—

"I wish I could tell you how I am by any positive standard, but every other day the doctor tells me I am better, and I can see by certain signs (appetite, sleep, etc.) that I am. I am beginning to get more hopeful, but I don't expect to be fit for work till the end of the month. . . . I am content to let day follow day as God wills. Of course you understand that they have dug me up all over and find every organ and function perfectly sound."

On the 25th May he published a letter to the diocese

in which he said: "I am now, thanks be to God, convalescent, but I am still advised, or rather commanded, to do no work until the end of June."

This compulsory rest, as Mrs. Wordsworth shows, was irksome to one who had schooled himself into constant work and over-work. Believing, as he did, that he had suffered from weakness rather than from any specific disease, he threw himself as a relief from the tedium of idleness into an excess of activity. To mention only some of the tasks of the last three weeks of his life, on the 25th July he preached in St. Paul's Cathedral, in itself a considerable effort, a sermon which shows no diminution of power.[1] On the 2nd August there appeared in the *Times* a long and vigorous letter on "the morality of special creations." After the Bishop's death that journal asserted that no one had made his special point with so much force and accuracy. Part of the letter is as follows:—

"Let me venture to remind your readers of some of the terms in which bribery is defined in the Corrupt Practices Act of 1854, which are repeated in the third schedule of the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act of 1883, where we read, *inter alia*, 'The following persons shall be deemed guilty of bribery and shall be punishable accordingly: 1 . . . 2. Every person who shall directly or indirectly . . . give or procure . . . or offer, promise, or promise to procure, or to endeavour to procure any office, place, or employment to or for any voter . . . in order to induce such voter to vote or refrain from voting,' etc. The principle of this section is clear, and it is surely in equity applicable to the case before us. For why should a man who offers a voter to try to get him a gardener's place, in order to induce him to vote for a particular person, be considered a criminal, and another who offers to make a

[1] At the consecration of the Bishops of Gibraltar, Taunton, and Corea. An extract is given on p. 339. The sermon is printed in the posthumous volume.

man a Baron, in order to induce him to vote for a particular measure, be held to be guiltless? The voter may have no objection to vote for the particular candidate; there is no proof required that the offer of the gardener's place has changed his mind; what the law forbids, and treats as criminal, is the suggestion of advantage to be gained by the vote, even if no promise be given by the elector. The words 'in order to induce such voter to vote' do not necessarily imply that a promise has been secured. So that even if Mr. Asquith has secured no promise, the offer of a Barony, under the circumstance, becomes, according to this analogy, a corrupt practice."

On the 4th August he wrote [1]:—

"I have not been idle these last few days. I keep well, but find the heat trying. I generally get a little siesta in the afternoon."

On Sunday, the 6th August, he preached his last sermon, again a vigorous one, in Salisbury Cathedral.[2] Canon Dugmore writes:—

"It was delivered with more even than his usual earnestness, and the impression on me was such as to cause me to say to several friends that I thought he would not be long with us."

A long and learned letter, which shows familiarity with recent as well as ancient literature, on the place of miracles in the Christian revelation, was addressed on the 13th to Canon Douglas Macleane, as Warden for the Diocese of the Central Society of Sacred Study. On the 14th was written another long letter, on the endless subject of ritual observance, to one of the less amenable of the clergy.[3] On the 15th was held a service which Mr. Carnegy Johnson shall describe:—

[1] To the Rev. J. S. S. Johnston.

[2] On the Transfiguration. Printed in the posthumous volume of his sermons.

[3] For this letter see p. 309.

"On the day before he died, the Bishop held an institution and licensing of eleven clergy. When the men were ready, I went up to the study to ask him to allow the Registrar,[1] as Notary Public, to take the oaths and declarations, usually made before the Bishop himself. He got up from the sofa where he was resting and said, 'No. Why is Malden here at all?' I replied that I had asked him to help me through with an unusual number. He took the service in Lady Chapel vigorously and with determination, and gave a longer address than usual at the end. Finally he said, 'I should like to have a separate interview with each of you, but my doctors require me to husband my strength. I will, however, see —— [naming three] in the Vestry.' He knew well that, once back in the Palace, he would not have been allowed to make this further effort, and, masterful as he was, he never provoked opposition if he could achieve his end quietly. And so even in the dry, formal, official Act Book which it was my duty to keep as secretary, there stands against his name on August 15th a long record of work done by him on that day, and on August 16th the record of his death. 'Occupy till I come.' Who ever obeyed this order better than our dear Bishop?"

During the last days of his life he was carefully weighing again the evidence of St. Matthew's Gospel for our Lord's teaching on divorce. He was no longer so confident as he had once been upon the subject. But the last topic on which he was engaged was that of the Swedish Church. By his bed was found lying a full and learned answer to some criticisms on his Hale Lectures that had been addressed to him by Professor H. E. Jacobs, of Philadelphia. The only relaxation he had allowed himself was that the greater part had been dictated, the last paragraph being in his own hand.

Amid these varied activities he passed away. The

[1] Mr. A. R. Malden, the distinguished antiquary, was in the Bishop's last years Registrar of the Diocese. He died soon after Bishop Wordsworth.

death was unexpected. A house had been rented for the summer holiday on Dartmoor, and beyond that immediate enjoyment the Bishop was looking forward to the closer society of his brother, who was soon to be his neighbour at Salisbury, and of his brother-in-law, Bishop Wallis, who had resigned the see of Wellington and had just been instituted to the archdeaconry of Wilts. In the fulness of his powers he was removed from service on earth.

He was buried on Saturday, the 19th, in the beautiful churchyard of Britford, by the side of his first wife. The railway strike which had spread over England made it impossible for many of his friends to be present. Next day his old friend, the Bishop of Winchester, preached his funeral sermon in Salisbury Cathedral.[1]

In attempting a final estimate of Bishop John Wordsworth's character, it will be well to draw attention first to the quality which most marked him in the judgment of those who could not appreciate his special gifts. To the general mind his kindliness was conspicuous. The evidence is so plentiful that only a few examples can be selected. At the last moment the story has been furnished how he would never fail, at a little railway-station, to climb to the box of a one-armed signalman who sang in a village choir. His attention to the widows of poor clergy in Bishop Seth Ward's College of Matrons at Salisbury, his aid to young men struggling towards Holy Orders, his help to clever boys in his school by which they reached the University—one, the son of a railway-porter, attained to the Indian Civil Service—his reception of a family of young children into the Palace that their father, a poor clergyman in a sickness where quiet was essential, might have the better chance of recovery, the delicacy of his inquiries into the circumstances in which the family

[1] It will be found in the *Diocesan Gazette* for September, 1911.

of an incumbent had been left by his death; such are a few of the instances of his kindliness. If a Sunday were free he would devote it to the service of some little church that otherwise must be closed, and the opportunity would not be lost of learning the circumstances of the parish. He had the gift of gaining the confidence of churchwardens, and his knowledge of even the smallest details of parochial work was astonishing. A lady [1] writes of the Bishop's preaching in a village church after the funeral of the Vicar:—

"In his sermon he gave testimony to my dear father's work during his incumbency. I was amazed at his accurate knowledge of the details of our Church life in the parish and of the various improvements that had been effected during that time. It seemed almost incredible that, even had he known of things at the time they were done, he could have kept the memory of what went on in such an unimportant little village."

But this kindness was not sentimental. It was apt to have at times a certain touch of hardness, which his life-long friend Chancellor Bernard explains:—

"The deepest impression which I retain from my long relations of close friendship with him is that of his affectionate heart. I wish to emphasise this characteristic, because it was perhaps not generally realised, at any rate not until the later years of his episcopate, when there were many who could testify to it. One reason was that his manner was sometimes brusque and apparently unsympathetic. A deeper reason was that he had a profound conviction that life was not meant to be smooth, but must bring, for all, trials and sorrows, a truth of which he had special experience. He would sometimes give expression to this in a way that seemed almost harsh to those who were not intimate with him."

[1] Miss Henderson, daughter of the Rev. T. J. Henderson, Vicar of Farley and Pitton, Wilts.

Nor was he always willing to edify. His chaplain, Mr. Johnston, tells how—

"the Bishop was disappointing to those who came to him expecting to hear 'some great thing.' I was present when an impressionable young man came to receive a valediction on going up to the University. The Bishop did not strike the idealistic note; he neither gave grave warnings as to the temptations of the new life, nor did he hold up any ideals of scorning delights and living laborious days. The only advice he saw fit to give to the youth was to be careful not to ruin his digestion by drinking too much tea. The young man went away, if not sorrowful, certainly mystified."

But his true self was shown in the words which end the preface of his *Ministry of Grace*: "To God, the Giver of the great gift of human friendship, be thanks and praise."

His manner of life and thought was so uniform that the memories of his last chaplain do not vary from those of Mr. Crokat and Archdeacon Bodington. But a few extracts may be given from the notes of Mr. Johnston:—

"Continuity and solidarity were two notes of his mind, the one expressing the historic sense, the other the social sense, but both finding their root in a common instinct. 'Fellowship' was a word always on his lips; it realised itself in the communion of saints and the brotherhood of man.

"He did not inherit the poet's love of nature, but he did inherit his mental aloofness, his love of elemental things, his affection for child-nature, his deep love of the simplicities and sanctities of life. In spite of his love of detail and fact, he was a confirmed idealist. Nothing else could have made him take so patient and faithful an interest in the possibilities of eccentric and doubtful sects and persons.

"His thrift in trifles, *e.g.* removing unused stamps from envelopes, saving pieces of twine from parcels (in this resembling the poet), and his almost reckless generosity in great things. His subscription list was a marvel.

"The intellectual difficulties of the day never touched him; they were outside his vision altogether. He lived too much in a world of his own to realise by sympathetic imagination what were the doubts or the hopes strong in the minds of younger men. Practical sympathy he was always ready to give; intellectual sympathy he could not often bestow. He accepted the truths of the Gospel, and he was convinced that they rested on sufficient authority. He distrusted philosophy, though in his Bampton Lectures he had shown a decided interest in speculative thought. But this avenue in his mind seemed later to be entirely closed.

"The Bishop's mode of reading, at least in his latter days, was curious. He would, apparently in the most aimless way, pick a book out of the shelves and read for two or three minutes, perhaps carrying on a conversation in the meantime; he then would restore the book to its place. It would seem that nothing could be gained by so desultory a method, but in those few minutes every fact was seized and arranged and laid in place for future use.

"His habit of asking questions was disconcerting, but it was chiefly due to his habit of thinking aloud. The question was meant as much for himself as for his companion. When we were driving or on long journeys, at intervals of about a quarter of an hour he would ask a question, but I soon found that he was quite indifferent whether he were answered or not. He would dive mentally for another quarter of an hour, and then rise to the surface with a question as before.

"When he laid himself out to preach an important sermon he was generally too laboured, but when he spoke on the spur of the moment, or threw out some unconsidered suggestion, then it was worth while to be all attention.

"He would never shift drudgery on to a subordinate (he ought to have done so more) nor ask him to do what he was not ready to do himself. It was a matter of principle with him to refer to his staff as 'colleagues.'"

Chancellor Bernard's impressions are similar:—

"Those who had occasion to see him often could not fail to be surprised at the readiness and patience with which

he would endure interruptions. Indeed, patience is not the word to use, for there was generally such a willingness to turn aside from what he was doing and attend to something quite different, that all the excuses and apologies of the interrupter were silenced. The recovery of the thread of study or reflection seemed to cause no difficulty. This characteristic had its good side for those who came to him from all quarters for help and guidance, but it was sometimes rather trying for those who had already secured his attention for something else. It must not, however, be supposed that he could not or did not deny himself to those who wanted to see him when other serious business was in hand. There was a natural capacity for readily turning from one subject to another, but I feel sure that it had been developed into a habit under a sense of what he owed as Bishop to all his flock who needed him. He would be accessible to all.

"I often had occasion to wonder at the confidence and readiness with which almost on the spur of the moment he would sit down at the table and write off an important letter or formulate a plan of action without any previous sketch, and with hardly any erasures. It seemed as if all took shape in his mind without effort, and came to the birth clearly arranged and in logical order, although the subject could hardly have been in his thoughts more than a few minutes.

"In conversation a marked feature was his assumption that what he spoke about was already familiar to his hearer; or rather it was that he took for granted that his hearer knew in some respects more than he did himself. Again and again I have had to reply, 'I cannot tell you; my opinion on this is worth nothing.' Combined with his stores of learning, of which he must in some degree have been conscious, there was a modesty and a trustfulness in the knowledge of others which quite confounded them. There was something of the same characteristic in his talk to children, whom he supposed to know and understand things quite beyond them. It was not till he had children of his own that he fully learned to measure their intelligence and to enter into their thoughts, instead of expecting them to enter into his."

His store of learning being what it was, naturally he

made the most of it. But it would be unjust to say that he over-valued precedent. Mr. Johnston says that—

"the Bishop's mind was overweighted with learning; he too often went to the Fathers or the Reformation divines for light on matters which he could have decided as well or better by his own unaided common sense."

This might create the impression that his loyalty was simply to the past, as was that of the Caroline divines, and perhaps of his own father. But in fact he held that the gift of wisdom to the Church is cumulative; that though we must learn from the past we can also, in some measure, improve upon its teaching. For instance, in regard to the Christian ministry and its history he was no transmitter of a conventional and inherited doctrine. He had studied for himself and come to his own conclusions. His citation of authorities may sometimes have been excessive; but often they were adduced not as absolutely binding, but rather as being the evidence which it was easiest for him to bring forward, though he would have allowed that equally valid considerations, of a less learned character, might suggest themselves at once to others, and as a second thought to himself.

But in regard to the substance of theology he was most conservative. His writings are sufficient evidence; but Archdeacon Bodington notes some points of interest:—

"He emphasised the importance of a Trinitarian religious worship as against a one-sided adoration of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity in His human nature, on the one wing of the Church or the other.

"People got a curiously false idea of him when they inferred, because of his attitude towards Prayer-book revision and Church reform, that he was latitudinarian or compromising in his beliefs. He felt the imputation very keenly. What was moving him was the desire not to drive out any whom God had not driven out. It was charity. But in his own

beliefs he was almost more unchanging, more unsympathising with Modernism, more simply conservative of what he had learned as a child, than any scholar we have ever known. But it is true that, in comparison with the great topics of faith, questions of vestments and the like, though they might interest him archaeologically, were trifling indeed."

Perhaps, in regard to the great questions which will trouble the next generation, we may say that the Bishop was *felix opportunitate mortis*. No one could state with more weight or fuller conviction the position in which he had been trained. But in a day when the danger is lest a rising school of thought should be misunderstood by one that is still strong and in possession of the ground, as Wesley was misunderstood by Bishop Butler and Keble by Bishop Sumner, it is not likely that Bishop Wordsworth could have taken up with success the part of a mediator. As to the less grave disputes which grieved his spirit and yet prompted him to devote an ever-increasing share of his time to those liturgical studies that were one of the chief interests of his later life, it is needless to say much. He was one of the most competent ecclesiastical antiquaries in England, and was in his right place as President of the Henry Bradshaw Society, a post which he held from its foundation in 1891 till his death. But what might have been a healthful relaxation was made a burdensome duty by the recalcitrance of some of the clergy, and it is impossible not to regret the thought that was diverted, however necessarily, from more serious learning.

But the work on the Latin Vulgate suffered in the main from a nobler impediment. From the day in 1886 when Archbishop Benson bade him watch the progress of a reforming movement in Italy, Bishop Wordsworth was never released from duties in regard to foreign communions. There is no continent save (as it seems) South America, certainly there is no country in Europe, with which he

was not, at one time or another, closely concerned. The scenes of interest changed, and it was not his fault that he was unable to maintain a continuous intercourse throughout his episcopate with any of the Churches that came within his range. It was not that he grew forgetful, or was unprepared, should occasion arise, to resume correspondence. Yet often some opening came to nothing, there was some disappointment with regard to persons, and the only memorial of the negotiation was an addition to the Bishop's books. His collection in many languages of liturgies, confessions of faith and ecclesiastical codes, often rare and curious volumes, was a library in itself. He did not regard his work, small though its visible result was, as in any sense a failure. Some good had been done, some seed sown; and he was able, in his idealism, to magnify the significance of the bodies he had approached. Either the possibilities of their future or the greatness of their past or some principle for which they stood gave them dignity in his eyes. Bishop Wordsworth lived in a wider world and worked on a broader scale than Archbishop Wake, but the two were one in spirit, and when the archives of Lambeth can be opened to future generations it will be known that the exertions of the younger prelate were, to say the least, comparable with those of the elder. That Archbishop, who had the merit of being a Dorset man as well as a negotiator of ecclesiastical union, was in fact one of Bishop Wordsworth's heroes, and he was never tired of suggesting to younger scholars that they should write his life.

But other Churches, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Lutheran, were not his whole interest, apart from episcopal duty and sacred scholarship. He was the referee, it may be said with little exaggeration, of the Anglican episcopate. Questions of the most varied nature were submitted to him, sometimes directly, sometimes by way of successive

Archbishops of Canterbury who passed them on to Salisbury. Some specimens of such inquiries, and of his answers, have appeared in these pages. He welcomed the task.

"We ought to have *all* new colonial Bishops to Salisbury, as I know they feel lonely often, and want help from home from some one with more leisure than the Archbishop";

so he wrote to Mrs. Wordsworth.[1] He was, indeed, as Bishop Stubbs called him, the Doctor Œcumenicus of the English Church.

But if his days were worthily spent, it was to the loss of sacred learning. The Book of the Acts in the Latin Vulgate was published in 1905. In the same year, as a fitting recognition of his scholarship, he was elected to the membership of the British Academy. It must have seemed that he was pledged to continue this work, but no further portion appeared in his lifetime. It is impossible to abstain from regret that he was not rewarded by seeing the completion of what is, beyond doubt, one of the master-works of English scholarship.

But the manner of working forced upon him by his many engagements, especially those in which successive Archbishops involved him, had an unfortunate effect. Dr. Sanday, in his graceful paper read before the British Academy, alludes to it:—

"The stream of the Bishop's publications never ceased, and did not even slacken, but I believe that in all the rest of his life [after he became Bishop] he brought out only three more books in full library form—the *Life* of his uncle, Bishop Charles Wordsworth, in 1899, *The Ministry of Grace* in 1901, and the Hale Lectures in 1911.[2] The other products of

[1] I regret that I have not the date of this extract, but it was after the Lambeth Conference of 1908.

[2] Dr. Sanday might have added *The Holy Communion* in its second and third editions.

his pen would make a most untidy regiment ; they came out in every possible shape and size, many of them in the modest little 12mo of the S.P.C.K. There could be no more striking testimony to the complete absence of anything like literary foppery in the man."

But, with deference to Dr. Sanday, this random publication has inflicted serious injury upon the cause of scholarship and on the author's reputation. Often, buried in occasional and ephemeral pamphlets, are fragments of his best work, published at first in very small editions and now quite inaccessible. Even comparatively substantial books, such as the *Ordination Problems* and *Unity and Fellowship*, are likely to miss in future years the attention they deserve. Yet, in spite of this injustice to himself, he has earned the high praise which Dr. Sanday bestows upon him :—

" Looking at the Bishop's work mainly as a scholar, he would perhaps find his nearest counterpart in Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614). If he could have led undisturbed the life of a student, there is little doubt that he would have rivalled the literary output of that famous scholar ; and if we could conceive of Casaubon as a bishop, he would have been a bishop on John Wordsworth's lines. And yet the assignment of parts was really appropriate ; because Wordsworth possessed, what his prototype did not, that commanding force and quiet energy of character which carries with it the qualification for rule."

This book, then, shall not end on a note of regret. We must be thankful that the English Church has been adorned in our generation by one whose great gifts were devoted in singleness of heart to the search for Christian truth and the union of Christ's people.

Bishop Wordsworth has been commemorated by Sir George Frampton's noble recumbent effigy in Salisbury Cathedral, with the appropriate inscription, BONUS

DISPENSATOR MULTIFORMIS GRATIAE DEI, which was dedicated by the Archbishop of Canterbury on the 9th June, 1914. Choir stalls are being erected in the Cathedral as part of the memorial.

The Bishop's widow and children have dedicated a tablet in his memory in West Lulworth Church.

In St. Mark's Church, Salisbury, consecrated by him, a small standing effigy has been erected, designed by Mr. Arthur Reeve, facing that of St. Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury.

Lastly, five of his Swedish colleagues have set up a silver plaque in Salisbury Cathedral: UNITATIS CHRISTIFIDELIUM VINDICI, ECCLESIAE SUECANAE AMICO, FATORUM EIUS ENARRATORI.

TOMB AT SALISBURY BY SIR GEORGE FRAMPTON.
From a photograph by G. Sands.

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